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Graham, Fred S.

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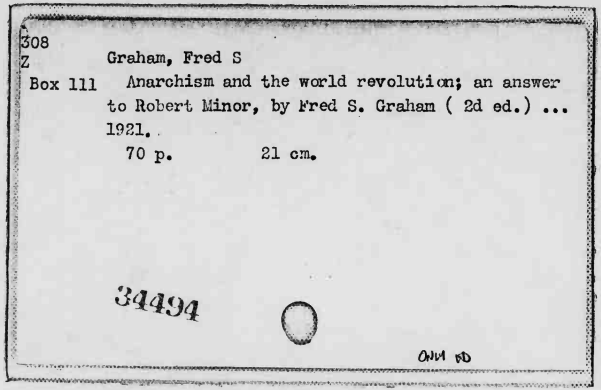

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Anarchism
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An Answer to Robert Minor

By

FRED S. GRAHAM

(Second Edition)

Price 15 Cents

Published in U. S. A. 1921

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Introduction

Robert Minor has chosen the present as an opportune moment for coming out (in the October 1920, *Liberator*), with an attack upon Anarchism, followed by a declaration of his becoming a Bolshevik. Then comes an appeal to all Anarchists to do likewise, though at the same time he insinuates that the Anarchists are betraying the Revolution in Russia.

When Robert Minor returned from Russia last year, some of our comrades were very anxious to meet him, especially in regard to the reports we were receiving of the praise he was bestowing upon the Soviets, at the same time criticizing the Bolshevik Government.

We also knew, of course, not only of the three articles by him which appeared in the New York *World* of February 1919, and the two articles in the London *Herald*, but also of the articles in the *Daily Bulletin* of Butte, Montana.

When he finally arrived from the Pacific coast to the East we went to see him to hear what he had to say. We were disappointed. He perceived this at once. Later Minor began to tell to some of us what he *really knew* about Russia.

In the main his explanation was, that not only were *all the articles he had written* (including those in the *World*) *true in substance*, but he told us things that made us fairly gasp. His silence, he explained to us, was due, mostly, to the capitalist newspapers interpreting every accusation against the Bolshevik Government as an attack on Soviet Russia, and as he thought the Soviet idea would bring about the universal Social Revolution, he concluded it was better to refrain from criticizing the Bolshevik Government.

We were bound to keep silent about some of the things he told us, so long as he showed that, he was out to *save* the *idea* of the *Soviet* from being hurt.

Now that he is not concerned anymore in *saving* the *Soviet idea*, but in saving the *Bolshevik idea*, while at the same time he accuses the Anarchists of treachery—our self-imposed silence ceases, and we will tell to those who can read, reason and think, Minor's, as well as our side of the story.

We kept silent when we witnessed Lenin attacking Anarchism and Anarchists, beginning with his pamphlet "Revolution and the State" (1917), and continuing it through every succeeding work of his.

We kept silent while Bucharin and other Bolsheviks in Russia did as Lenin.

We even kept silent when Zinoviev sent out an appeal, in which he called upon Anarchist-Syndicalist, and Anarchist-Communist groups to join the Bolsheviks, stating that some had done so already. We knew this to be absolutely untrue, for the "appeal" was sent after the Anarchist—Syndicalists of Russia, who had worked formerly on revolutionary and industrial grounds with the Bolsheviks had broken off all relations, and had become the open enemies of the Bolsheviks, whom they had found to be making of everything centralized state property,—instead of allowing the marching development of Industrial Syndicalism—as Minor proves so well in his article "Lenine's Fight Against Syndicalism." (See Chapter III.)

We kept silent when we witnessed the "communist" party of America shamelessly and untruthfully slur and misinterpret Anarchism, saying that we Anarchists stand for "democracy" for capitalists as well as for the workers—when, as a matter of fact they know too well that we stand for the Social Revolution, and shall do so until *freedom* for *every* individual becomes an accomplished fact.

Why did we keep silent—witnessing all these calumnies, insults and attacks upon Anarchism and Anarchists?

We thought that the success of the Revolution, and its establishment the world over, was as dear to the Bolsheviks as to us, and to openly answer such malicious attacks—would only have hurt the revolution, just at a time when it needed every ardent revolutionist's support.

We realize now how mistaken we were in the Bolsheviks' revolutionary sincerity. Their changing the name of Bolshevism to Communism, proved to be only a political stratagem to thwart the wave of real *Communism* in Russia, as well as in other countries, for Communism in its true meaning is just the reverse of what the Bolsheviks are doing under its name.

Therefore, when we refer to them as "Communists" we can only do it in quotations, as a slur on Communism—which their "communism" is.

Their fawning appeals to make peace with capitalistic countries, at the expense of exploiting the natural resources of the people's wealth in Russia, proves our assertion.

Their third International in its last session (1920) showed itself to be not an International organ for the rallying of all Revolutionary factions working for the overthrow of capitalism, but a narrow united faction of dogmatic Marxian followers aiming to control and dominate every Revolution that might break out.

This act proves more strongly the assertions we made above as

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do their continued attacks, murders and jailings of Anarchists in Russia. All these actions perpetrated by them in Russia, have forced us to devote some of our time and energy in exposing them once for all. This we do gladly, for, we realize that if the Social Revolution in Russia is to be *saved*, and its *expansion* into *other countries* be *rendered possible*, we must set about showing that the Bolsheviks are betraying the International Proletariat.

The proletariat of the world must begin to realize that it has *two enemies* in its struggle for freedom. One is without and the other, within. The former consist of:—Capitalism with its organs of support; the Government, Church and Press; and the latter, which are the Socialists, under the shielding names of Bolsheviks, Communists or Spartacans, who all alike are doing their best to defeat the real liberation of the Proletariat.

It is both these enemies of the proletariat, that we Anarchists take upon ourselves to expose and show in their true light—until the proletariat will rise and together with us struggle in the world Revolution till both enemies of freedom are overthrown.

As an important contribution to our answer, we have added a translation of an article—"What We Went Through", printed in the Russian Anarchist monthly "Volna" (The Wave) for September 1920, written by two persons who recently arrived from Russia.

With this we close the introduction and leave all the rest before the reader, trusting that he will make a study of our facts and arguments, and will then act accordingly.

CHAPTER I.

How Minor Changed His Mind

Robert Minor begins his article by claiming that he found it was necessary not only to save Soviet Russia "but to understand Soviet Russia"—and he began to "understand" it by joining every adversary "who one by one fall before Lenin",—that is, by turning from an Anarchist into a Bolshevik.

His assertion that every one "bows" before that "great power" Lenin—can best be proved, to be just the reverse by Minor himself in his article (included here—see chapter III) "When Anarchism ruled Russia", where he proves that the Revolution went on, is going on and will go on even without that "great power"—Lenin.

Like every converted missionary he does everything one can think of to cast mud on the ideal and on the men whom he once professed to have admired, and he twists as well, the fundamental differences between Socialism and Anarchism.

This last accusation against him, we are not so sure about, for after reading the complete list of books that he has read (which he brings as "testimony"), we doubt indeed if he has read enough to understand either Anarchism or Socialism.

He slanders Peter Kropotkin because Kropotkin, did not stop the Y. M. C. A. boys from calling him "Prince". This is almost disgusting, for did Kropotkin since he is in the Anarchist movement ever sign his name otherwise than "Peter Kropotkin"? Who continued adding his old title "Prince"? Was it only the Y. M. C. A. boys or the capitalist press? Oh, no! Look up the file of the London *Labor Leader*, the socialist organ in England as late as July 1920, and see what Socialists can do!

Kropotkin sent a message to the workers of Western Europe and America, (a message which is clearer than anything that has yet appeared about the Russian Revolution—and which Minor does not even mention.) the *Labor Leader* prints it on the front page under the heading "A Letter by Prince Kropotkin"! Who should be blamed more for being called Prince—Kropotkin who cares not a whit for the title, or Minor's Co-Socialists—who bestow it upon him purposely?!

Let us now begin analyzing Minor's reasons for his "conversions." He says:

"I found Engel's "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State," more clearly and radically than any Anarchist had ever to my knowledge exposed and denounced the state". "My next step was the Anarchist sources, Kropotkin's "The State; its Historic Role". "I am forced to admit that Marx and Engels created the non-State philosophy. Kropotkin did not even understand it".

These are quite daring assertions, but does he bring a *single* fact to prove them? Not in his article. The only proof he brings is of his ignorance, by admitting, that, as far as his "knowledge" goes, Engels and Marx exposed the state "more radically" than any Anarchist. When one changes his ideas, he must make a thorough study of everything possible which concerns the ideas he relinquishes and the idea which he adopts. Instead of doing this Minor begins by "announcing" to the world, that he has taken with him to read the three volumes of Marx's "Capital"; that while commencing on the first he was given to read Lenin's "The State and Revolution". He then re-read "The Communist Manifesto", and Engels' "the Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State". Then behold! He went to the Anarchist sources and read a lecture (*not even a pamphlet or a book*) given once by Kropotkin, and then published as a pamphlet—and the *miracle* happened!—He *realized* how "conservative" Anarchism is—in comparison with Socialism! To prove this he does not cite a single word or paragraph from Marx, Engels and Lenin or Kropotkin's lecture!

Doesn't one feel disappointed at the "knowledge" one finds in Minor—that after such a thoroughly deep research of the ideas of Anarchism and Socialism he changed his "mind", and flew from Anarchism into Bolshevism. What disgust the intelligent reader must feel at our well known "intellectuals", when finding out their utter ignorance, especially in such instances as Minor's.

Before criticizing Anarchism, before attacking Kropotkin of *lack* of *understanding*, before confusing Anarchists with the I. W. W., and Bakunin with John Most—must not one at least try to accomplish the "heroic feat" of finding out what Anarchism, and its ideals and tactics are? . . . Must not one at least read more from Kropotkin than a printed lecture—before proclaiming him an ignoramus? . . . Must not one know the difference between the I. W. W., Bakunin and Most?

Are our "intellectual" radicals so irresponsible that they dare to do what no self-respecting, plain-thinking worker would ever dare to do? Or should we attribute it to the fact, that such as Minor and the *Liberator* know that the Anarchists will not get a chance to be answered in their columns—therefore they can dare anything—even while exposing their own ignorance?

No matter what it is—it is at any rate a sorrowful spectacle,

which must be brought to light—so that people with an equivalent *lack* of knowledge—may not immediately follow in the footsteps of Robert Minor!

Minor knew he could not prove any of his assertions, therefore he did not quote. Well, we will quote both sides and let the reader decide for himself. Engels says in the "Origin of the Family":

"As the State came into being due to the necessity to keep bridled the opposition of different classes; and as it also originated in the struggle of these classes; therefore the State is the power of the powerful class, of the class that has the economical supremacy, (p. 137, German edition).

"The State of today with its parliaments and elected representatives is the tool, through which capital sucks out the blood and sweat of the wage earners. (p. 138).

"When the classes will fall apart, with them will inevitably also fall away the State." (p. 139-140).

Now let us quote from "The State; Its Historic Role"' of which Minor says that it gives no "coherent account on the subject at all." Kropotkin in his lecture said in part:

"Wherever serfdom had been abolished it was reconstituted in a hundred different forms; wherever it had not yet been destroyed it was shaped under State protection, into a ferocious institution bearing all the characteristics of antique slavery, or even worse.

"And could anything else evolve out of this State-produced misery,—the State's chief anxiety being to anihilate the village community after the town, to destroy all bounds existing between peasants, to give over their lands to be pillaged by the rich and to subject them, each individually, to the functionary, the priest and the lord? (p. 28-29).

"All that the State managed to do was to tighten the screw on the workers, depopulate the land, sow misery in the towns, reduce thousands of beings to the state of starvelings, and impose industrial slavery. (p. 35).

"To allow citizens to constitute a federation among themselves in order to appropriate some functions of the state would have been a contradiction of principle. The State demands direct and personal submission of its subjects without intermediate agents; it requires equality in servitude: it cannot allow the State within the State." (P. 32).

Kropotkin finishes his résumé of the lecture in the following manner:

"The first phase of evolution has been the primitive tribe, passing on into a village commune, then into a free city, and finally dying out when it reaches the phase of the State." (P. 41).

He then shows that the same fate of Death met not only Asia, the banks of the Mediterranean and Central Europe, but also Egypt, Assyria, Persia, Palestine, Greece, Rome, Celt, Germany, Slavonia and Scandinavia. And he ends by prophesying what the State holds in store for us, even when it is a "Revolutionary" State.

"Will it again produce death? Of course it will, unless we reconstitute Society on a libertarian and anti-State basis. Either the State will be destroyed and a new life will begin in thousands of centres, on the principle of an energetic initiative of the individual, or groups and of free agreement; or else the State must crush the individual and local life, it must become the master of all the domains of human activity, must bring with it its wars and internal struggles

for possession of power, its surface-revolutions which only change one tyrant for another, and inevitably at the end of this evolution—death." (p. 42).

"Choose yourselves which of the two issues you prefer." (p. 42).

Isn't this rank "conservatism" in comparison with Marx's and Engels' scientific Socialism?.... No wonder Minor did not quote to prove his assertions... What worth has now Minor's assertion where he says:

"Let us look for a conception of the origin of the State that is different from the orthodox conception of bourgeoise ideology. There is but one: It is Marx's, Engel's and Lenine's?

The quotations we have given from Kropotkin, answer in themselves the truth or untruth of Minor's assertions. But we will soon show more strongly why Minor dared too much. For, there are other Anarchists who wrote on the State, some, even before Marx, Engels, and Lenin.

Engel's "Origin" was first published in 1884. But in the year 1849, that is, 35 years before, it may surprise Minor to discover there lived a man by the name Proudhon, who published in that year two books, called, "What is Property" and "Confessions"... Some in the radical movement may know something about one of these books.

.. We will quote here a paragraph from the "Confessions". It reads:

"Authority was no sooner begun on earth than it became the object of universal competition. Authority, Government, Power, State—these words all denote the same thing,—each man sees in it the means of oppressing and exploiting his fellows. Absolutists, Doctrinaires, Demagogues and Socialists, turned their eyes incessantly to authority as their sole cynosure." (p. 7 (24)).

The following is from—"What is Property".

" All parties without exception, in so far as they seek for power, are varieties of absolutism; and there will be no liberty for citizens, no order for societies, no union among workers, till in the political catechism the renunciation of authority shall have replaced faith in authority". (p. 301 (216)).

Has Minor refused to read these thoughts just because they hit straight at his new "radical" associates, the Marxian Socialists?... Or, because ignorance is bliss?... But let us proceed to some more "conservative" Anarchists than Proudhon...

Per chance, has Minor ever heard of a man writing under the name of Max Stirner and of a book, that he wrote which is called in English "The Ego and His Own"? (In the original—German it is called "Der Einzige und sein Eigentum" which is also more correct.) This book was issued in 1845, and Minor's newly adapted teachers, Marx and Engels got so angry at it (and mind you as Lenin and Minor claim, both were against the State...) that they issued a book against it. However, for well known reasons, their followers have stopped its circulation or reprint.

We will quote here a few things from this book of Stirner's:

"The State's behavior is violence, and it calls its violence "law", but that

of the individual, "crime". (p. 259). "It is the King of beasts, it is lion and eagle." (p. 337). "The State may be in splendor while I starve." (p. 280).

"A State never aims to bring about the free activity of individuals, but only that activity which is bound to the State's purpose. The State seeks to hinder every free activity by its censorship, its over sight, its police and counts this hindering as its duty." (p. 299).

"The laborers have the most enormous power in their hands, and if they once become thoroughly conscious of it and use it, nothing would withstand them; they would only have to stop labor, regard the product of labor as theirs, and enjoy it. This is the sense of the labor disturbances which show themselves here and there. The State rests on the slavery of the laborers. If the laborer becomes free, the State is lost." (p. 127).

Here we will give one more writer's view on the State—a writer whom Engels knew of: Michael Bakunin. He wrote the following more than twenty years before Engels. "No legislation", he says, "had another aim than that of confirming and exalting into a system, the exploitation of the laboring populace by the ruling classes".

This is what he wrote on the origin of the State:

"In all lands it is born of a marriage of violence, robbery, spoliation, in short of war of conquest,—with the gods whom the religious enthusiasm of the nations had gradually created. ("Dieu Euvres p. 287).

"As slaves of God, men must be also slaves of the Church, and of the State so far as the Church hallows the State." ("Dieu" p. 20).

We could proceed quoting page after page from Anarchist writers, but the quotations given so far are, we think, enough to show how much truth there is in Minor's assertions that Engels' "Origin" exposed and condemned the State, more clearly and radically then any Anarchist ever did, to his knowledge, or that Kropotkin did not even understand the State philosophy,—as well as his implications about the claims of originality to Engels. *

"Among the Socialist papers commemorating the birthday of Frederick Engels, is the Detroit "Proletarian", advising all who are desirous of educating their mind in the matter of straight thinking to read the works of Engels.

"However, the "Proletarian" makes a slight mistake, when it states that "perhaps the best known work of Engel's is the "Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State", *as it is largely quoted from the "Origin of the Family", a bulletin written for the U. S. Department by an official named Morgan*, who had spent many years among the Indians, had learned their languages and studied their history, thus showing how the roaming individual, the family, the tribe, the nation, and ultimately, civil human society originated. The report is out of print and can only be obtained by paying fancy prices to antiquarians and book sellers."

* It will undoubtedly interest the reader to find out a Socialist paper's view, on the "originality" of Engels' book, as a whole.

The following is reprinted from the *Colonial and Co-operator*, (issued by the Socialist Liona Colony) of January 1921:

We only hope that our analyzation will arouse enough interest in those who wish to learn for themselves, to make a further study of the books we mentioned.

CHAPTER II.

The "Communist Manifesto" and the Revolution in Russia

Now let us touch upon Minor's other "discovery", that he "re-read the Communist Manifesto", and found that it agrees with the Bolshevik tactics.

Before we begin to deal with this important question that Minor has raised, a few words apropos of the "originality" of the "Communist Manifesto" will not be amiss.

Minor very likely does not know of a writer by the name of Tcherkesov. Tcherkesov wrote a small book called "Pages of Socialist History". In this book the author does not assert as Minor is so fond of doing—but *proves* that: in the year 1843 a Fourierist Socialist. Victor Considerant, wrote and issued "Principles of Socialism; Manifesto of the Democracy of the 19th Century", which was *rewritten almost chapter by chapter, paragraph by paragraph, six years later in* 1849, and *issued as an original document* under the title "Communist Manifesto", by Marx and Engels!

Has anything surpassed this barefaced plagiarism in the history of literature? We doubt it. But Tcherkesov likewise proves that the theory of the role of the State in the Communist society has been taken from Louis Blanc, and that Marx copied most of the material in "Capital" from Adams Smith, Ricardo and others.

Tcherkesov further proves, that Engels was aware of Marx's plagiarism; for in his "History of the Development of Socialism", Engels does not mention a word about the Socialist literature from 1825 to 1867, the year of the publication of "Capital".

We think this to be conclusive evidence, as to the "originality", and honesty of Minor's newly discovered prophets—Marx and Engels.

Now let us refer to the "Communist Manifesto" itself, in its relation to the subject of the Revolution in Russia. Minor discovered not only that what Lenin wrote *three months* before the Bolsheviks came into power coincides with his present acts, but that even the "Communist Manifesto agrees with the Bolshevik tactics". Are both of these assertions proved? Minor does not believe one needs to prove his assertions. . .

If the Bolsheviks would have used the tactics laid down in the "Communist Manifesto", they would have had to bow their heads

in shame. For the Revolution *as a Revolution had no right to take place in Russia.* Says the "Manifesto":

"The Communists turn their attention chiefly to Germany, because that country is on the eve of a bourgeoise revolution".

"The bourgeois revolution in Germany will be but a prelude to an immediately following Proletarian Revolution. (p. 55).

What tragic irony that these "Communist" followers should have to attempt to carry out some of the Marxian-Engels doctrines just in that country which the "Manifesto" did not even mention as a country where a Revolution was ever to be expected! . . . .

To show what great value can be attached to the "prophesy" or soundness of Engels, the author of the phrase; "the State will wither away", we will quote this from Engels' introduction to Marx's "Class Struggles in France", written after his "Origin of the Family":

"But whatever may happen in the countries the German Social Democracy occupies a particular position, and hence for the present has a particular task. The two million voters which it sends to the ballot box together with the young men and women who, as non-voters stand behind them, constitute the largest and compactest mass, the decisive corps of the international proletarian army.

"If that keeps up we shall by the end of the century win the greater part of the middle strata of society, both, small tradesmen and peasants and shall become the determining power in the land before which all other powers must bow down whether they want to or not.

"We the "revolutionists", the "revolters", prosper far better by lawful measures then by unlawful measures and violence." (p. 214, German edition 1911).

Need we comment further on this great "prophesy" of Engels? We will let Minor do it, if he so desires. . .

Now about the program of the "Manifesto".

"The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degrees, all capital from the bourgeoise, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the State." (p. 39).

This is exactly what the Bolsheviks are doing. What Minor wrote and thought about this a *year ago*, we will soon see.

CHAPTER III.

What the Old Minor Wrote a Year Ago

Minor bitterly laments the fact that a certain capitalistic paper ostracised him in the eyes of the Bolsheviks.

As we stated in the beginning, Minor admitted, that everything printed in the New York *World* was true in substance. Of course now he will set out to state that we are lying, so to save him this inconvenience, we will quote and reprint from two articles of his, which were not written, nor printed in capitalistic papers. Let us now read what the Robert Minor *of a year ago* wrote for the *Daily Bulletin* of Butte, Montana, (the radical labor daily of the Pacific Coast) as to *how* Bolshevism was carrying out Marxism in actual life. One article was headed "When Anarchy Ruled Russia".

We quote it here in full, as follows:

"A year ago the "Soviet Republic" was a loose federation of workmen, soldiers and peasants. It was governed by no man and was repugnant at State, Socialists and bourgeois alike.

"Today the Soviets are submerged in a semi-social-democratic state with which any capitalistic government can easily make treaties. Bolsheviks can't afford to say that the old type of Soviets exists no longer in Russia, but I, not being a Bolshevik, can. The Bolsheviks did not create the early anarchistic condition of Russia, but on the contrary, they have created the only real government by which it could have been done.

"In the Czar's Russia, everybody of enlightenment considered himself a revolutionist, and when the crash came in March, 1917, everyone thought it was his kind of revolution. But 180,000,000 men bursting chains make a force before which all theories have to break or bend. Miliukoff's, Terestchenko's and Kerensky's theories broke. The subtle analyst Lenine's theories bent before the blind giant force, and carefully fitted themselves around it.

"Despite the childish habit that we all have of thinking that each event of history is due to the particular act of some individual, I shall have to ask the reader to believe that Lenine did not make the October revolution. The whole substance of that revolution was roughly mapped out in advance in the minds of dumb millions.

"I was in San Francisco in the summer of 1917, when immigrants returning to Russia poured through that city.

"Being intensely interested in the social phenomenon of the Russian revolution, I asked many of these travellers who and what Lenin; and the Bolsheviks were. None of them knew. But no less than a dozen obscure workmen told me that the workers and peasants were forcibly to stop the war, overthrow Kerensky, and seize the land industries, which they would run by Soviets such as had cropped up in the 1905 revolution, and of which they had a miniature imitation then in San Francisco for handling their business of travel. I even heard one argument about street-fighting tactics for capturing Petrograd. A San Francisco window-washer, who did not know what the word "Bolshevik" meant, forecasted the October revolution to me in details that were not very far wrong, three months before it occurred. If I am not mistaken he washed windows at the hotel in which the Mission, headed by Senator Root, stopped on its return from Russia, loaded with misinformation.

"No, Lenine did not make the October revolution.

"By July, 1917, the peasants had covered the valley of the Volga and Central Russia with a network of land committies, and the annihilation of the landlords and the lawless taking of the land had gotten under way. None of these peasants knew at that time what a Bolshevik was. A month before the October revolution a wave of chateau-burning and landlord-killing swept those parts of Russia where Bolsheviks were least known.

"As soon as the Czar's policemen were safely jailed or shot, the Petrograd workmen broke up the old government-fostered craft unions, formed industrial unions with shop steward committees, demanded wages that amounted to confiscation of the factories, and elected Soviets for the express purpose of dictating to the government. These city workmen determined their own wages, dictated management of the business, and by force prevented the closing of the factories and removal of raw materials — but all the while they had a holy horror of "Bolshevism".

"It wasn't Lenine; it was a lack of policemen.

"Government machinery had no connection whatever with the social body.

"There were many political experts trying to analyze the situation, and the most successful analyst was Lenine. He knew that the State was dead and that there was nothing in Russia that could be made into another state but this giant force of Soviets, if it could be bent under authority. He set about to do it. There was only one way to get control of the giant. It was a way at which we may turn up our noses, but I think it is the only way in which political power was ever won—to say the things that your crowd want to hear.

"Lenine knew what the active masses wanted before the masses knew it themselves.

"General Korniloff speeded the oncoming storm more than Lenine did. His uprising simply laid bare the powder magazine under Kerensky's feet, and gave the match to Lenine; it showed that nearly everything capable of fighting was willing to fight for the most radical phase of the revolution. When Korniloff and Kerensky awoke from their dream, they found every workingman in Petrograd armed and in an ugly mood. From that time on there was nothing more to be done than to let the workmen and sailors throw themselves on the shell of a government and crush it in. A little practicle organizing by the Bolsheviks, and the thing was done.

"In the first months after the revolution which they had led, the Bolshevik chiefs did not rule Russia, for no man can rule Soviets of the kind that then existed. The workmen had taken the factories, and the peasants the land at a time the Bolsheviks could not have prevented it had they tried. The Bolsheviks passed laws legalizing what the workmen and peasants had already done. That was the only way they had of making their power real. Gradually some of the workmen and peasants began to regard these laws as the sources of their games. They were lawless, but if the law brought them what they wanted—well, they were won back to law.

"The spirit of lawless but fullhearted communism into which all Russia was plunged for several months is infectious. The military forces were a series of armed groups voluntarily co-operating throughout European and Asiatic Russia in harmony due to their common aims, but taking orders from no men. Regiments elected their own officers, marched where they pleased, fought as they pleased—, many of them under the black flag of anarchy—and supported the

nominal government from week to week only as a committee that suited them. When orders came from Moscow, regiments decided by vote whether to obey or not, and any dissatisfied minority would secede and pursue its own campaigns.

"That was the thing that Lenine had found growing out of the wild, dreary soul of Russia, and which by circumstances was tagged with his little political party's name, "Bolshevism".

"It might be said that Lenine was for a time swayed from his orthodox Socialism by the thundering charm of the thing. The tremendousness and romance of it, flowing as it did in crude form from the lips and arms of millions of peasants and workmen who had been peasants, seemed for a brief while to make Lenine sweep aside the dusty volumes of Marx and to join in the song. Perhaps, though, it was only "real-politic". I am sure Lenine would deny ever having been unorthodox. Very soon he began to weld this raw material into something vastly different. The anarchistic song still faintly echoes down the Volga and the Don and the Dnieper, and in the Moscow and Petrograd workshops, and a note or two of it may still creap into Lenine's State affairs; but he very soon began suppressing the anarchy and building a police force.

"At Brest-Litovsk the departure began. Then and there the Bolsheviks had to decide whether the revolution was simply a fiery fluid to pour over Europe in uncompromised purity at any cost, or whether the revolution's value lay in crystalizing a State.

"But the Bolsheviks wanted to build a SOCIALIST STATE at any cost. In November, December, and in January they quietly pleaded with the Allied ambasies for 300 or 400 officers to help them organize a military defence, while in public they denounced "all imperalistic governments" alike in the hope of arousing the German working class by their attitude. The French Government assigned three officers about March 25th and the British Government appointed Colonel Boyle, whom Trotzky immediately made dictator of railroads, though Colonel Boyle left in three days. A few American officers appeared and were put to work drilling the Red Guard. The American Ambasador was understood to promise 350 engineers, but they did not come. Paris and Washington had been mislead to believe that the Bolshevists were German spies. On February 28th the Bolsheviks made their last appeal to the Allied Government.

"Then they signed peace at Brest-Litovsk. They came back to Moscow to get the treaty ratified. Karl Radek (who is by feverish imaginations classed as a German spy—and is now in a German goal—bitterly denounced the surrender to the German Imperialists and declared that the revolution would stand before Europe in moral bankruptcy if the treaty were ratified. Ryazanoff, president of the All-Russian Industrial Unions ,demanded that the revolution should die with honor rather than live in shame. Lenine, with state-building in his head, in his heart and in his hand, was almost the only man in the Soviet Central Committee who dared to raise his voice for ratification. "We are no children," he said. "Let us look facts in the face; do not become the victims of a phrase".

"Lenine had his way, and the revolution cast off from anarchy and started on its State career.

* * * * *

And here we quote from his second article under the name of "Lenine's Fight Against Syndicalism" which reads as follows:

"As nobody can build a state on the foundation of an officer-defying, ambassador-killing volatile minority, the Bolsheviks had to shift their governing structure more completely on to the steadier support of the inactive majority—in other words, to establish what practically amounts to "democracy."

"They felt that they had to do to the industrial unions what they had done to the army—bring them under the central political authority. Anarchistic syndicalism was practically controlling all the industries of Russia. Political power cannot exist and tolerate an independent economic power. Syndicalism was to give way to government ownership, political control.

"It was hard to make the industrial workers submit to it. Throughout the summer, while Trotzky wrestled over the Russian prairies with the independent regiments to make them accept him as war minister instead of an adviser, Lenine wrestled in the towns to down his syndicalists.

"A "Council of Public Economy," consisting of political and technical specialists, was first appointed by the government to overlook and advise the industrial unions in their production.

"There was no objection as long as the council had nothing but advisory power, and the syndicalists worked with it harmoniously. Little by little the skilled hand of Lenine began to weld into the council of public economy an absolute authority over all productions and all matters pertaining to the factories, mines and railroads.

"To disentangle the government from syndicalism, it was arranged for the industrial unionists to have two separate ways of voting.

"Each has one vote for a political delegate and another vote for his factory council, which no longer has any political power.

"In the political field the worker has become a voter by occupational division instead of by geographical district as in England and America. In the industrial field the worker is a member of an industrial union in a government-owned plant, the government controlling everything except some internal shop labor matters.

"Lenine succeeded in this tremendous change, ditching syndicalism and substituting conventional government ownership, only by telling the industrial unions that it was a temporary measure, due to military necessity, and that later the political authority would fall away again and leave the purely industrial organization. But I don't think it ever will unless many years from now by another violent revolution against the most revolutionary-proof government in the world.

"The ideal of the original simon pure Soviet system was that:

" "The constitution of future society shall be defined, not upon geographical lines, but upon the lines of industrial unionism."

"Without central (enforced) authority that would come pretty close to anarchist syndicalism. With central (enforced) authority it would amount to the programme of the American Socialist Labor party as set forth by Daniel De Leon. But after going through the anarchist phase, which the Bolsheviki could not prevent, and then through the De Leon phase, which Lenine calls his ideal, the Russian Soviet republic is now being tempered by arrangements to let in foreign capital.

"It is important to trace the way in which the Bolshevik government eradicated anarchist syndicalism, because that government is at present planning great industrial concession to entente bondholders and American capital. As things are now, these operations would not be embarrassed by lawless syndicalism. Capital has before learned the value of dealing with the centre in labor matters, and the present Russian government is the most successful labor centre in the world."

This is how the *old* Minor of a year ago wrote in the *Daily Bulletin* of Butte, Montana.

CHAPTER IV.

What the New Minor Writes Today

This is what Minor writes now:

"The idea of autonomous local soviets seems a constrained makeshift of a semi-State, when we see Lenine striking straight for a non-State society with a clear program for getting it more quickly than any other had ever dared hope".

Now compare the paragraph just printed with the one below quoted from the article "Lenin's Fight against Syndicalism".

"Lenine succeeded in this tremendous change, ditching syndicalism and substituting conventional government ownership, only by telling the industrial unions that it was a temporary measure due to military necessity, and that later the political authority would fall away and leave again the purely industrial organization. *But I don't think it ever will unless many years from now by another violent revolution against the most revolutionary-proof government in the world*".

Which Minor is telling the truth?—the *old*, or the *new* one?

A year ago Minor wrote that Lenin and his regime did all they could to destroy the *real Soviets*, and only made of them political Soviets. Today he says, that Lenin is bringing more quickly than any one had ever dared to hope a non-State society. Are there any proofs for this new assertion? *None.*

We know quite a different story. A person well known in the radical movement returned from Russia, and told the following:

When he left Russia, nearly every publication issued by Anarchists excepting one daily in Petrograd (due to the Bolsheviks' fear of the Kronstadt Soviet) was supressed.

That the Anarchist-Communists were the leading opponents of the Bolshevik Government, whilst the Syndicalists worked with them only industrially.

That there was a time when everyone was sure that the revolution, was turning into an Anarchist Revolution. Then came the intervention of the Allies and the counter revolution. The Anarchists were then the *first* and *most* numerous of any party to set out and fight the enemy. While they were away, the Bolshevik government came into power. When the danger of Kolchack was over, and the Anarchists began coming back, they found a powerful government. When the Syndicalists-Anarchists wanted to bring into realization their industrial commonwealth, they met with the most strenuous opposition from the Bolshevik Government who were

making everything more and more the property of the State, (which they were to "destroy". . .)

Then began the real war between the Syndicalist-Anarchists and the Bolsheviks, the rank and file of the Anarchist-Communists now joining with the Anarchist-Syndicalists.

The Anarchists were of course all armed and they were disarmed in this treacherous manner: when the Anarchists of Moscow refused to give over their arms, the Bolsheviks went to the regiment and asked their help to disarm "counter revolutionists". The soldiers met a whole night and concluded that they would not raise a finger in *attacking Anarchists*, whom they consider *as good* Revolutionists as the Bolsheviks. Twice the soldiers not only refused, but advised the Anarchists of what action the government was contemplating against them.

A few weeks later the government publicly announced that it had no further intention of disarming the Anarchists while secretly they applied to the Lettish troops who did not understand the Russian language, to attack in the night a "band of counter revolutionists", who "must be disarmed". — But even when they made the cowardly attack after midnight, at the Bolshevik Government's order, the Anarchists put up a brilliant fight—losing about 14 comrades, while the enemy lost 12.

And he finished his story by telling, that in the combined Anarchist-Communists and Anarchist-Syndicalist movement, the Bolshevik Government faces the only power that may yet overthrow it. We believe that Robert Minor *knows* this man who related the above. He knows him *indeed* very *well*, for it was no one else but Robert Minor *himself* who told it on October the 8th, 1919! One can then realize that Minor is not telling the truth now—when he asserts that Lenin and his government are aiming at a non-State society, when as a matter of fact, *they are killing, suppressing, and jailing those who really wish to materialize such a non-State society.*

We know also of many Anarchist-Communists who were coldbloodedly attacked and slain by the Bolshevik government. Mr. Saylor in the *New Republic* of March the 15th, 1919, cited the Anarchist-Communists of Samara and Saratov, who perished after fierce battles, between Bolshevik troops and Anarchists in 1918.

Are attacks upon Anarchists, murder and jailing of Anarchists to be interpreted as the "getting of a non-State society more quickly than any other had ever dared hope"?!!!

As recently as last month we received a letter from a deported Anarchist comrade, who wrote to us, that all active Anarchists are in the same category *there* as those who "fall in" *here.* We have sent letters to our comrades in Russia through the same official

channels as the Bolsheviks, but very few reached them. We know that the letters reached Russia, but why were they not received? Is the jailing of Anarchists, censoring and seizure of mail to Anarchists also a "quick way of getting to a non-State society"?

Here is another statement by the *new* Minor:

"Moscow was not repressing parties more revolutionary but more romantic. The Russian Anarchists should have put their talents into one revolutionary organization—the Russian Communist party and have helped organize its discipline".

It is indeed a shameful situation! Why did not the Anarchists in Russia join hands with the "Communist" Government in Murdering, Jailing and Suppressing themselves???!!!

Doesn't the reader think, that such terrible accusing facts against the "communist" State *proves* just the reverse of what the *new* Minor asserts?

One who knows what Minor does about the treatment meted out to the Anarchists by the "communist" State, should at least have had enough self-respect, not to have dared to make the suggestion; "that Anarchists should have put their talents" in helping a Government that is Killing and Oppressing them!

CHAPTER V.

The Truth about Makhno and the Free Fighters

Are "Principles aside" Saving or Betraying the Revolution?

Minor seems to dare anything. He writes:

"Principles aside, there is nothing more certain than that Pilsudsky, Yudenitch, Kolchack and Lloyd George would long ago have obtained possession of Russia, if the Bolsheviks had not made a centrally controlled army under rigid discipline, or had not suppressed the bourgeois with the means of organized brutal force.

"What is the purpose of the priest when he induces you to follow spooks instead of reality? I think it is that when you follow non-existent things you don't do any harm to your oppressors.

"If the story is true about Makhno (Anarchist) with his 75,000 soldiers refusing to fight in Southern Russia because they who favored the locally autonomous soviets could not support the centralized State, then Makhno was following an angel."

Here we have the quintessence of Minor's "change" of mind article.

First, he shows the necessity of a centralized State with a dictatorship, otherwise, the revolution would be lost.

Second, he implies *indirectly* (lacking enough courage to do it *directly*) that the Anarchists are like the "priest" "following spooks" therefore misleading the people and as a consequence are *not* "harming" the "oppressors".—in other words betraying the Revolution. This he proves readily enough by his citing as a fact, that, Makhno, the Anarchist, with his army of 75,000 refused to cooperate with the Bolshevik centralized Government.

Let us now examine the truth of these three daring charges against Anarchists.

First, let the reader turn to chapter three and compare all the above statements of the *new* Minor with those of the *old* Minor—all dealing with the same questions, and then see and reason out which Minor has told the truth, the *new* or the *old* one?

Minor asserts that the Government speaks and acts as a centralized body in the name of the Proletariat. Without it, the Russian Revolution would have been lost.

Is this true?

Any one reading the article appended to this pamphlet (at the end) dealing with the Anarchist movement, Makhno, and the Free Fighters, will at once realize how untrue Minor's assertions are.

The actual facts about Makhno are just the *reverse* of what Minor stated.

Makhno and the Partisan Fighters (as they call themselves, "partisan" meaning voluntary) defeated every counter revolutionary attempt made in Southern Russia, and Minor *knew* that the partisan fighters and Makhno were willing to "compromise" their Anarchism so much in order to save the Revolution, that they asked for arms of that Government which *pretended* to "represent" the Proletariat of Russia—the centralized "communist" State. And it *was the "Communist" Government that refused to help defeat the counter-revolutionists of Southern Russia by not giving arms to the Partisan Fighters—unless the free fighters recognized the authority of the "Communist" Government!*

It may be very hard for one to believe this *counter charge* that we have just made, but fortunately Minor and the *Liberator* acted just as we expected they would. Instead of allowing any criticism to appear in answer to Minor's article, Minor had the audacity to come out with an "Answer to My Critics"—without printing a single criticism, or part of one! It is thanks to this "answer" that we can prove very easily the truth or untruth of Minor's assertion.

In the October, 1920 article, he wrote:

"I don't know whether the rumours are true that the Anarchist military leader Makhno, with a following of 75,000 soldiers, remained idle in Southern Russia, refusing to go to the Polish front because they, who favored the locally autonomous soviets, could not support the centralized Bolshevik State".

And this is what the same Minor wrote in his "answer' 'a month later:

"Makhno asked Trotzky to supply him with arms and Trotzky refused, because Makhno would not work under Red Army Discipline."

It is too bad that Minor forgets what he writes, and contradicts himself in such a distasteful manner. . .

After the above admission by Minor in his "answer" we are justified in asking; *who* then *has actually betrayed the Revolution in Russia*—the *Anarchists*—or the *"Communists"?!*

The Partisan Fighters are mostly inspired by, and fight in cooperation with the Anarchists. They are chiefly peasants who seized the land in 1917 and still keep it, without any Government, dictatorship, centralism, or rule over them.

Wherever the enemy of the revolution appears—Makhno and his comrades are usually on the spot, calling upon the people to volunteer and save their hard-earned freedom, and this they do most willingly—without conscription, best food, clothes or titled Tzaristic Generals (as in the "communist" state). Thousands of them have already sacrificed their lives on the battle field of the Social Revolution.

The lie to Minor's assertion, that, "without a rigid disciplinary

army the revolution would have been lost" is given by the British Army Generals who were forced to admit that, it was far worse to struggle against these Partisan Fighters, than against the disciplined Red-army of the "communist" State. Even Napoleon recognized the fact, that the worst opposition army is the one fighting a Guerrilla war, as the Partisan Fighters are doing.

It is not the Anarchists who have ever followed, or will follow "spooks", as a "priest", and thus betray any Revolution for Freedom.

We witness thousands of "communists" led by a Marxian—Socialist "Communist" Lenin, trying to carry out a Social Revolution in Russia, just exactly as their teachers Marx or Engels dictated that it should be done.

Anarchists contend that a Revolution can never be pre-arranged, but comes spontaneously, and if a Revolution is to become a Social Revolution, the workers must seize the factories and the peasants, the land. Only then will the workers and peasants rally *voluntarily* in supporting even at the expense of their lives, if necessary, the Social Revolution whenever any danger threatens it.

The Partisan Fighters inspired by Anarchists, prove how right our contentions are.

The "communist" Government, by having to enforce conscription, by awarding ranks, using the old Tzaristic officers and giving the best food in order to get a Red army, shows what need or use a Revolution has for a "centralized Government"—as the "communists" wish to make others believe.

If the Revolution in Russia has not been defeated as yet, it is not due to the "victorious" Red army, as Minor and other "communists" so untruthfully assert, but it is because of the *direct help* of the *proletariat in every part of the world. that is blocking each attempt of capitalism to crush the Revolution.*

We contend that a *Revolution in one country is bound to end in defeat unless it spreads from country to country.*

If the Bolshevik Government had not signed the shameful Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, the workers of Germany and Austria-Hungary would have been forced to *participate directly* and *openly* in the attempt to destroy the revolution in Russia. And, every thinking revolutionist could foretell that this would have led to serious Social Revolutions in those countries.

This is why the revolutionary proletariat applauded with tears and heart-throbs Trotzky's only great act of the revolution,—his challenging the workers of Germany, and Austria-Hungary to crush the revolution in Russia!

A Revolution that is willing to make peace with capitalism (as

the "communist" State is doing in the name of the Revolution) *must end in gradual defeat!*

If the "communist" State had refused to knock imploringly at capitalism's doors by offering to grant exploitation concessions in order to make peace, if they had continued to refuse the payments of any Tzaristic debts whatsoever—what would capitalism have done?

It would have been *forced into declaring open warfare against the Russian Revolution!* And this would have *led to the expansion of the Revolution into country after country!*

For, didn't we witness during the last year how the workers of Great Britain were ready to declare war upon British capitalism the moment British capitalism dared to declare open warfare against the Revolution in Russia?

Didn't we also witness how German, Italian, American and British Workers—all refused to help in forwarding arms to be used against Revolutionary Russia?

The Bolsheviks *interpret* this as a help to *them*, as a "communist" Government, but this is not true. It is because of the Social Revolution in Russia, because of the attempt of the masses to free themselves from economic and political slavery,—for *this* and *nothing else*, that the International Proletariat shows its solidarity. It is to save the Revolution and not the "communist" State, that it acts so.

As one of the most striking illustrations to prove and elucidate what we mean may be cited by the recent French Congress of the entire Trade Union movement there, when it refused to join the Third International. and at the same time expressed its fullest sympathy, cooperation and willingness to fight for the safety of the Revolution in Russia. It also expressed its spirit of solidarity towards the Italian Workers and Peasants in their attempt to liberate themselves.

The same can be said about every Anarchist's work for the Revolution in Russia, though he be absolutely opposed to the Bolshevik Government. The same motive is also the reason for the disagreement of the International Proletariat with the "communist" State, while it is doing all in its power for the Revolution.

When a party aims at controlling a people's revolution, the aims of the revolution are bound to be lost.

This is exactly what the Bolsheviks are doing in Russia, and aiming to do in other countries.

A Social Revolution, if it is to bring real freedom and equality, must be greater than a party, must be beyond being tied and fettered by rules, and decrees. It must be *unlimited* in all its spheres of development and initiative. It must have all i' producers the sole owners of everything.

But instead of doing all this, the "communist" State, is *limiting*

and *killing* the revolution by begging and making peace with capitalism.

It is true that by not compromising, the Russian Revolution stands a chance of being defeated as the Paris Commune was. But there is not the slightest hope for its defeat, as the Solidarity Action of the International Proletariat proves.

The greatest chances are that an *uncompromising revolutionary Russia will* not only *come out victorious*, but will also *bring victory to the International Proletariat in every country of the World!*

It is in this sense that the "communists" are betraying the revolution in Russia.

Thus we see that a centralized State is useless in a real Revolution, for it is only used as a means of carrying out the wishes of a single party that rules as a State, while it compromises and ruins the Revolution in order to continue its rule.

We see that the "communist" State has not saved the Revolution, as Minor contended. On the contrary, it is acting in a manner that must as a consequence, sooner or later lead to the death of the Revolution.

They may have prevented, as Minor asserts: the taking "possession of Russia by Lloyd George" *instead of having it themselves, but surely they* did not save, nor are they saving, the revolution in Russia.

As to "Makhno" and the Partisan Fighters, it should be remembered that while the "communist" State had to resort to coscription and the threat of death and starvation in order to get its red army, Makhno and the Anarchists without conscription, without a centralized State, without special concessions and without Generals,—managed to gather and arouse Volunteer Fighters for the Revolution.

As Anarchists, we can very well understand why and how this could have been accomplished. When people really free themselves, when the peasants become the possessors of the land, and the workers of the factories,—let any enemy without or within dare to attempt wrestling the land and factories from them—and he will soon discover how futile such aims are.

The group of Makhno and the 75,000 Partisan Fighters is the only one of which news came out of Russia so far Most likely they are not the only group of Partisan Fighters. The trouble is, that news about the activity of *such voluntary* fighters is not allowed to slip out of Russia by the "communist" State, who Minor claims, "does not reppress parties more revolutionary".

Oh, no! It does far worse.

It suppresses news of their real activity, and lies intentionally about them.

The Partisan Fighters with Makhno have been fighting for the Revolution since the first day of its inception. No news ever came through the "communist" State channels that such fighters existed at all.

For a few days during October 1920, news appeared that Makhno had joined hands with the counter-revolutionist Wrangel. The first cablegram that the "communist" regime condescended to give out about Makhno, stated that Makhno had gone over to the Bolsheviks, and was made one of their commanders and that his going over to them, was caused by his men who "liked him very much", but were not willing to fight for Wrangel.

Such was the cable. What obviously intentional preversion of the truth is to be found when one examines the news!

First, Makhno does not act as "leader" or "general" *over* the Free Fighters, but as advisor and fighter with them. The Free Fighters are volunteers who are fighting for the freedom that none of them in the "communist" State possesses,—so if Makhno did betray them by his joining hands with Wrangel, we are sure, that all the love in the world that the Free Fighters bear him would not have saved him from being killed,—not to speak of their asking him to oblige them by and becoming a commander under the "communist" State!

What really must have happened, was, that the "communist" State was at last forced to give arms to the Free Fighters, as the sudden defeat and annihilation of Wrangel in Southern Russia (where most of the Free Fighters are) now shows. But the "communist" State cannot afford to tell the truth of its former treachery towards the Free Fighters and the Revolution, hence the twisted and lying telegram.

The twisting of actual facts by the *new* Minor is to be seen clearly from this quotation of his "answer":

"If by any chance it should be that Makhno has really sided with Wrangel, as Paris claimed, or if he persists in remaining idle during this fight, then I should set Makhno down in the list with Scheidemann, Noske, Pilsudsky and Tchaikovsky—would'nt you? But the Soviet wireless usually tells the truth, and I believe the Anarchist army have gone over to fight on the working-class side of a fight that has only two sides."

How "play to the gallery" like and "dramatic" this reads—but at the same time how untrue it is from beginning to end!

First. it is, "if by any chance" as "Paris claimed" Makhno has joined with Wrangel then, "wouldn't you" set him down as counter revolutionist? Then, soon after this "but the Soviet wireless usually tells the truth"—what truth? The Soviet wireless also claimed that Makhno went over from Wrangel to them—so the Paris telegram is true. So why the "if" and "but" with all these circumlocutions?

The worst dishonesty, though, comes in when he exclaims:

"I believe the Anarchist army have gone over to fight on the working class side of a fight that has only two sides."

First, it is an untruth that the Anarchist Partisan Fighters have ever been away *willingly* from any "working class side of a fight"!

The only time that this happened was, when the same Minor, in the same "answer" allowed to slip from his pen the admission that:

"Makhno asked Trotzky to supply him with arms and Trotzky refused, because Makhno would not work under Red Army discipline"!

So, what Minor should have admitted had he been honest enough, would have been that the "communist" State has at last been forced to begin helping the Free Fighters" on the working class side of a fight that has only two sides".

Yes, somebody has betrayed the Revolution, and is still betraying it. Somebody is "following an angel".

The facts show who is doing this.

CHAPTER VI.

More "Startling" Truths of the New Minor

In his great discoverey Minor "learned" the startling truth, that "by its very nature and source, the State cannot exist and never did exist except while there are two classes distinguished by a difference in property."

This naive discovery of Minor's only lacks the "little" explanation as to why Zinoviev, in the name of the Third International aims not only at dominating all workers' organizations, but also at making them nothing more then annexes to all those states that they may capture.

Minor further asserts:

"The Dictatorship of the Proletariat will last as long as there is a bourgeoise with a gun or a hope."

This means, that the "communist" State in Russia or similar "communist" States, will not cease to exist until the International World Revolution will have been completed.

If this is so, then it becomes of the utmost importance to examine whether by the course now being pursued by the existing "communist" State, there is any visible sign that such a thing as an International World Revolution will ever become a possibility.

When the "communist" State of Russia takes away the hard toiled wealth of the people, and spends it for the purpose of making peace and granting concessions to foreign capitalists—what does such action mean?

We must not forget, that capitalists when they make agreements, have Governments that take care that these agreements are kept. An *uncompromising* stand by the workers of a country in revolution would most assuredly lead to direct combat with foreign capitalism, in this manner also arousing the revolutionary spirit of the proletariat in every other country.

But a peace agreement with capitalism's Governments and capitalist exploiters leads not only to the enforcing of the terms upon the people in Revolution, but also to the surreptitious support by these same capitalists and governments in aiding every counter—revolutionary movement that aims not to destroy (as we see now in Russia) the "communist" State—but the Revolution. At the same time it also prevents the outbreak of Revolutions in other countries.

First, the "allied" capitalistic countries openly sent arms and men to Siberia in helping Kolchack.

Forced finally by the proletariat at home to withdraw the men from Siberia, and at the same time being continually offered peace concessions by the "communist" State—the same "allied" capitalistic countries have supported every counter-revolutionary movement in Russia, *underhandedly* of course. No sooner was Kolchack dead when Denikin arose. When Denikin was defeated Yudenich came upon the scene. Yudenitch, crushed, brought forth Wrangel. Now that Wrangel is dying—a new Messiah—Balahovitch is arising.

Not *one* of all *these* counter Revolutionists could last a single day, but for the secret help which they get from "allied" capitalistic countries.

And it is with these capitalistic enemies and destroyers of the Revolution that the "communist" State is compromising and making peace!

Therefore, the peace arrangements of the present "communist" State with capitalism, as well as all their repressive "decrees" and "laws" prove that the "communists" are not aiming at the destruction or final dissappearance of the State, but at the establishment of the worst bureaucracy on earth.

It is ridiculous to expect, that, when every human being or object will be completely tagged, labelled, owned and controlled by the "communist" States of the world, these States will then proclaim to the people:

"Now we cease to function as bureaucrats, militarists, centralists, suppressors, murderers, generals, commissars, etc., we declare the State superfluous. From now on it ceases to exist, for all of us know by now how to live in a Communist Society." . . .

It is indeed—tragically ridiculous!

Overnight, when the "communist" State will be in its height of splendor, dominating the earth, it will of its own accord go out of existence! All the officials will give up (as Lenin referred to the Kerensky regime) their "cushy jobs", become real Communists, and so will the people,—and Communism will come into full bloom!

What fine material for a mock-tragedy!

Does Minor and his like really believe, that thinking people cannot realize the falsity of such assertions to which the "withering away of the State" phrase must lead to?!

Why did the First International split? Was it not because Marx and Engels strove for the "intellectuals" superiority under the impression that they are the only ones capable of telling the "ignorant" masses *how* to act and *what* to do? Was it not as a consequence of this attitude that the Socialist State idea emerged as the chief distinction between the Marxian-State Socialists and the anti-State (known since then as) Anarchists, who, with Bakunin contended (as shown in chapter XI) that a Revolution can be successful and

followed by Revolutions in other countries, only when the destruction of the State brings about the practice of real Communism from the very inception of the Revolution?

Is Minor so well informed as not to know even the facts of how the Marxian-Engels rulership did not stop at using the foulest means imaginable (see "Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin" by Victor Dave) in order to expel the Anarchists from the First International, who thought that the Marx-Engels faction had more at heart the downfall of capitalism, than their aim of becoming the rulers of the State?—(Although they were later forced to realize by the written and spoken word as well as by actions of this faction, that theirs—the Marxians' chief aim—is to capture the State, whereas, the Anarchists aim, is as always, at its complete destruction.)

Does not Minor know that for the last fifty years, ever since the dissolution of the first International, this pro- and anti-State idea has been the most distinctive principle which seperates Anarchists from Marxian-Socialists of all shades?

It does sound very dramatic, this exclamation from the "infinitely wise" man—Nicholai Lenin:

"Ministers and professional politicians, "practical" Socialists and traitors of the proletariat of today have left all criticism of parliamentarism to the Anarchists."

Did Minor realize how much untruth and deceit there is hidden in this exclamation?

For nearly *fifty years* the Socialist spokesmen and writers of the world (including Engels—see chapter X) *resorted* to *legal parliamentarism* in order to capture the State—as the *sole means* of bringing about a Social Revolution!

Why did diplomatic Lenin have to wait more than a decade, exactly a few months before gaining power, to admit that "all criticism of parliamentarism" has been "left to the Anarchists"? . . . Lenin's pamphlet did not appear until 1917. Is it possible that he did not know of the above-stated truthful assertion for all those many years that he participated in the Socialist movement? . . . We doubt it.

We rather suspect with the help of the *old* Minor (of chapter three) that while hiding and planning the overthrow of Kerensky—Lenin was already paving the way to fool mislead and ensnare the Anarchists into joining the Bolsheviki (as they actually did) in order to gain the control of the State.

That we are not wrong in this suspicion, we can see from Zinoviev's letter in which he appealed to the "communists" and Anarchists of the world to join the Third International, claiming, that many Anarchist groups had joined—and this claim was made at a time when Zinoviev and his "communist" State were murdering, attacking, jailing and suppressing the Anarchists in Russia who opposed their regime!

All these fine phrases and claims by Zinoviev, Lenin, Minor and similar "communists" are worthless in face of all the facts of their deeds, and therefore can only be considered as the trap-talks and promises of politicians.

The "communists" aim as much at the *entire* destruction of the State, as the Pope of Rome would, in claiming that when all will become Catholics—the Pope will solemnly announce that the people can get along now very well without the Catholic faith—that it will disappear . . .

This is again where the real "priestcraft" of the "communists" can be seen. The people of Russia do not want a State, not even a "communist" one. . . Lenin and his following of priests are scheming like politicians in trying to get the most active revolutionists' support, in order to enforce a State upon the people of Russia in spite of the people's natural, deep-rooted desire to practice real Communism—*minus* a State with all its useless "commissars".

And this is also what the same "communists" with their Third International aim at doing, wherever they will succeed in capturing other States.

"Priest-craft" there is plenty—but on whose side?

On the Anarchist's *side* who are always at the fore with the people in every struggle for more freedom by revolutionary and uncompromising methods, or on the *side* of the Bolshevik-Marxians who do not care a whit whether the Revolution in Russia perishes so long as their State, as outlined by their teachers Marx and Engels will become a reality? . . .

The *old* Minor is right. Lenin resorted to Anarchist tactics in order to gain power, but this is all. Neither did he do it in order to realize the cry of "All Power to the Soviets!" under which slogan, he gained power. It was only to capture the State for the "communist" party, that would rule or ruin the people, according to the manner in which Marx or Engels "says" it ought to be done. . .

It will not help one or a thousand subtle diplomats like Lenin, to change the exposed name of Socialist to that of Bolshevik, and Bolshevik to that of "communist". Nor will their "assurances"—that they aim at the "withering away of the State" help. The "leopard cannot change his spots"—Marxian-Socialists remain Marxian-Socialists. . .

The Proletariat of the world realizes how the Socialists have betrayed and are still betraying them in and out of Parliaments. They are also gradually finding out what the same Socialists under the shielding name of "communists" are doing in Russia, Italy and every

other country. Lenin, Minor and their associates will learn this before long.

Today as before since the split of the first International, the Anarchist movement has been the only active one to which "all criticism of parliamentarism" has been "left". For, Anarchists aim at arousing the proletariat and together with them to destroy the State, while the Socialists, hiding under every popular name of Communist or Spartacan are still aiming *not* at the *destruction*, but at *capturing* and *building* up the most enslaving autocratic State imaginable.

CHAPTER VII.

A Few More "Broad" Distortions

Minor makes another bold assertion of (?) "knowledge", when he says:

"Absolute liberty is one of the things that do not and never did, and can not exist.

"Is your Anarchist ideal Freedom? Liberty? Or Absolute Liberty?"

We are more than afraid that Minor simply doesn't know what he is talking about here, as we shall soon see.

He is trying to scare every one with three words; Freedom, Liberty and Absolute Liberty, when in reality he only exhibits in this manner his wide (?) "knowledge" . . .for they all mean one and the *same* thing to the Anarchist Communist, as well as to the Anarchist Individualist.

Whether one takes the works of Kropotkin the Anarchist Communist (not a lecture in pamphlet form only . . .) or goes to the trouble of studying (not just starting, as with "Capital"), "The Ego and His Own" by Stirner, the Anarchist Individualist, one will then find them both coming to the same conclusions in regards to Freedom or Associations.

The former calls it a voluntary commune of individuals recognizing the full liberty for each one to co-operate and be in the Commune as long as the Individual sees no infringement upon his personal liberty, whereas the latter calls it a "union of egoists" with exactly the *same* basic aims and principles

When two or more people join in a Commune, for the aim of bringing for themselves the utmost Freedom and Happiness, Joy and Development according to their desires and understanding, so long as whatever one does—will not infringe upon, harm, injure or take away anybody else's, Freedom, we have what Minor chooses to call by three words, but which is only one Freedom.

If Minor or any one else can conceive of a better form of Freedom, we Anarchists who are not dogmatists of "priest-craft", will gladly accept that new and better form, which could give every individual more Freedom than Anarchism.

But, for Minor to set out attempting to misinterpret what he does not understand,—to twist what is clear to those who can read and think, we hate to call such action by its deserved name. so we'll let the reader suggest it.

Minor is only right in this: *"the cause of the disagreement of the Anarchist-Communist with the Bolshevik-Communist"* is *Liberty" —Freedom.*

Bolshevism stands for the submission of the people to the authority of their "communist" State of "intellectual" rulers, and is therefore *opposed* to Freedom.

Anarchism opposes any form of State or rulership and only suggests Voluntary Association between individuals, groups and peoples of all countries, and therefore *strives* for, and *aims* at Freedom.

How then can there be, as Minor suggests a "reconciliation" between two such distinctly opposite forces?

There might be a possibility for such a "reconciliation", if we were all "drifters" like Minor, but not when we are thinking human beings. ..

* * * * *

In his "Answer to My Critics" (of which criticisms he, but not the public knows anything) Minor makes a few more of his intentional attempts to twist facts—thereby hoping to mislead Anarchists and their sympathizers into supporting "communists". We will just deal with two specimens of them. He writes:

"It happens that Lenin has just written to Sylvia Pankhurst a letter which deals with Anarchists who support the Soviet Power. Lenin says that they are "our best comrades and friends", that they are the best revolutionists who are the enemies of Marxism through a misunderstanding, or rather in consequence of the fact that the predominant official Socialism of the Second International (1889-1914) had betrayed Marxism".

Whether there are any Anarchists in Russia who support the "Soviet Power" (Lenin plays here again the politician by not calling it what it *is*—a State) is yet to us a very doubtful question.

But, granting for the sake of the argument that there are *some* Anarchists who support their State, is what Lenin asserts about them, true, then?

Those knowing the history of the First and Second Internationals can at once detect the falsity of Lenin's assertion.

The split of the First International came about when the question of pro-State and anti-State arose. Karl Marx supported the pro-State faction (as did also Engels). Michael Bakunin supported the anti-State faction. Because of this split the pro-State faction came to be known as Socialists, and the anti-State faction as Anarchist.

If this was only a "misunderstanding" as Lenin claims, how does it happen that not only did not Marx and Engels try to justify the "misunderstanding" and thus re-unite the First International,—but

instead carried on the most dishonest intrigues until they succeeded in having the Anarchists expelled by a "majority"?!

The greatest falsehood in Lenin's statement is this assertion *that* "they (the Anarchists) *are the enemies of Marxism" "rather in consequence of the fact that the predominant official Socialism of the Second International* (1889-1914) *betrayed Marxism."* This is absolutely untrue! Anarchists have been known as a movement opposed to Marxian-Socialism, ever since the break of the First International, as we have shown above. If Lenin meant what he stated, then what he should have said, was, that; "Anarchists are the enemies of Marxism, in consequence of the fact that Marx and Engels have betrayed Socialism by dividing the First International into pro-State Socialists and anti-State Anarchists."

If the "infinitly wise" Lenin can do such feats, why should it then be surprising that Minor should put the "communists" of Italy into a chaos, by stating:

"Lenin has seen in Italy the grand old man Malatesta as the leader of the best blood of Italy—the Anarchists—precipitate the occupation of factories that nearly resulted in a sucessful revolution, and then fight with all his power to prevent the betrayal which was accomplished by Socialist and trade union politicians."

Minor has forgotten to tell us just "a little" of the Italian "betrayal" . . . He has forgotten to state whether *there are any "communists" in Italy, and if so—what they were doing at the time that "the best blood of Italy—the Anarchists" were being sacrificed for what would "nearly" have "resulted in a successful revolution"?!!!*

Let the reader turn to chapter IX, where we fully deal with the Italian betrayal of the Revolution, and remember this quotation from the American "Communist" of October 15th, 1920:

"The seizure of factories reached such a stage that all government and industry was paralyzed. · The Government and the capitalist class knew that this would fail so they left their hands off and waited. So did the Communists.' '

Evidently, Minor is not as yet a full-fledged "communist" in the sense of submitting his writings to a "central executive dictatorship" . . . He had better be careful. . . A few more slips from his pen like the above quotation and the columns of the (?) "Liberator" (as regards to "Communism" and Anarchism) will remain as closed to him as they have been until now, and as they are to all his "critics"

CHAPER VIII.

The old Minor versus The new Minor

No stronger proofs against the *new* Minor are needed than the following "six" reasons which he gives in the *Liberator* as having believed in.

Let us now quote in full, each reason of the *old* Minor and see if it is not still as good as ever before.

Here is "reason" one:

"I thought that in the early days of the revolution Lenine and his party had diluted their Marxian philosophy with Anarchist tactics, which the needs of the revolution demanded; I thought that the overthrow of the Russian government was in fair accord with the Anarchist tactic and in violent disaccord with Marxism."

Let the reader now turn back to Chapter III, re-read the details that the *old* Minor gives in *proving* just the *reverse* of what he states here, particularly in this paragraph:

"He (Lenine) knew that the State was dead and that there was nothing in Russia that could be made into another state but this giant force of the Soviets, if it could be bent under authority. He set about to do it. There was only one way to get control of the giant. It was a way at which we may turn up our noses, but I think it is the only way in which political power was ever won—to say the things your crowd want to hear."

Yes, the *old* Minor is still right. For, if the Bolshevik-Marxians had resorted to the rules laid down by Marx or Engels, they would have to refuse even to participate in the Revolution in Russia, which according to Marx's "theory" could not take place there.

But as the *old* Minor says, they began to use Anarchist tactics, and were politicians in this sense, that they did not themselves believe what the anarchical masses wanted, but only talked so in order to gain power, while on the other hand, the masses were thus fooled in thinking that the Bolsheviks were aiming at real freedom.

The *new* Minor does not bring out any worthy reason, as to why the first reason for his "change", is not as true now as it was before.

Now we'll quote his second "reason":

"I thought that, having won a commanding position by a victorious use of Anarchist tactics, Lenine and Trotzky began to settle down into their old Social-Democratic habits of thought; that they began to desert the anarchistic theories of their first enthusiasm by sinking back into the position of the conventional "Marxian" parties of the world."

Again we must ask the reader to turn to the *old* Minor's two articles in chapter III., and there get the best refutation of the *new* Minor, for the *old* Minor says:

"The Anarchist song still faintly echoes down the Volga and the Don and the Dnieper and in the Moscow and Petrograd workshops, and a note or two may still creep *into* Lenine's State affairs, but he very soon began suppressing the anarchy and building a police force.

"But the Bolshevists wanted to build a *Socialist State at any cost.*"

So we see again the *old* Minor, as the strongest disprover of the *new* Minor. What we said about the "tactics" in regards to the first "reason" can be said here also.

Here we come to "reason" three:

"That in arrogating all power to an iron central authority, sapping the power of the once locally autonomous soviets, the Bolshevik leaders had destroyed the roots of the revolution and the only hope of real communism in Russia."

Here we have a short but very important "reason".

How did the Bolshevists succeed in gaining power! Alone they could not have overthrown Kerensky. As the *old* Minor proves in chapter III., the Anarchists and Social Revolutionists were united with the Bolshevists. But for what purpose or aim were they united? Surely, not to help the Bolshevists become the same State rulers as the Kerensky regime. The aim was something far more important, but the *new* Minor seems to have forgotten it already. . . Therefore, we will remind him "a little". . .

The slogans or mottos of the peasants and city workers was: "All power to the Soviets!" and mainly Bread, Land and Freedom.

It was for this great revolutionary aim that the Anarchists and Social Revolutionists united with the Bolsheviks in arousing the masses to overthrow Kerensky.

But what has become of these slogans ever since the "communists" have established their "transitory" State?

The *old* Minor tells us, that as politicians the Bolshevists *undermined* and *helped* in *destroying* the "original simonpure Soviet system".

Besides the *old* Minor, we will now quote from Zinoviev, who openly asserts, that the "communists' " *aim* in the present Russian Revolution, or in any other country where a Revolution will take place, is not "All power to the Soviets" (and under which they gain power), but the fact that the:

"Communist Party is to obtain a preponderating influence and complete control of all the workers organizations."

That this is not only exactly what they aim at, but what they are practicing wherever they can, as in Russia, is now a fact of common knowledge. For, who hears anymore today anything about "All Power to the Soviets!"? This slogan of what once really represented *the* great masses, is dead now. It was used as a meretricious mask to gain power, and since the Bolsheviks have captured it, they have made of

the real People's Soviets nothing but political Soviets of their "communist" Government.

We cannot do a better thing, than to finish our answer to the third "reason", by reprinting once more the entire third "reason". It exactly proves, that this is just what the "communists" have "accomplished".

"That in arrogating all power to an iron central authority, sapping the power of the once locally autonomous soviets, the Bolshevik leaders have destroyed the roots of the revolution and the only hope of real communism in Russia."

Let us now proceed to "reason" four:

"That a course of compromise, which began as early as the Brest-Litovsk treaty, had lead inevitably to the eradication of the original form of locally autonomous soviets, and to the crystalizing of a police bureaucracy, to military conscription, to the extinction of press freedom, to the repression of parties more revolutionary than the Bolsheviks, and into alliances with the bourgeoisie of their own and foreign countries."

In commenting on this fourth "reason" of the *old* Minor, which the *new* Minor does not hold good anymore, we only wish to ask the following:

Did not the first compromise beginning with the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty lead (as the *old* Minor in chapter III. proves) to the destruction of the "local" and "autonomous" soviets? Did it not lead to, and have we not at present in Russia the worst form of "police bureaucracy"? Is there no "military" as well as "industrial conscription" there? Is there press freedom for any one else, but the Bolshevik State officials and Party men? Isn't every revolutionary opposition party suppressed by the Bolshevist State? Has not the bourgeoisie of Russia become the "commissars", and is not the "communist" State begging peace, and has it not already granted exploitation concessions to "foreign countries" controlled by the "bourgeoisie"-capitalism?

If all these things are untrue, then the report of the British Labor delegation is completely a document of falsehood, as must also be the letter by Peter Kropotkin. So are all the decrees of the "communist" State in regards to all the above mentioned subjects untrue, and equally untrue is every word written by the *old* Minor.

Indeed, every happening in Russia within the last three years proves that the whole of the fourth "reason" of the *old* Minor still holds good.

Minor, in another part of his "change" of "mind" states:

"Now the bourgeoisie State subject the workers' papers to rigid censorship or suppress them with heavy force.

"The proletarian dictatorship does exactly the same."

Is one then to understand from this quotation that all the Anarchist papers or Left Social-Revolutionary papers are not issued by workers, but by the bourgeoisie? . . .

If this is not so, then what better proof is needed to show that under the guise of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" the "communist" State is suppressing that part of the proletariat that disagrees with it?

We think, that Minor must consider every reader of the *Liberator* devoid of reason not to detect every contradictory statement he has made.

Another assertion of Minor's reads:

"But as I see the Red Armies now crossing the Polish border, and foresee a second signing of peace-place possibly with the soviet republic of Poland."

We do not need to say much of the peace treaty with Poland. Those who read the press know that peace has been made by the "communist" State—with the murderers of Polish and Russian Revolutionists—with capitalistic Poland!

First a bravado stand was taken (as before the signing of the Brest-Litovsk treaty) in the demand that the workers of Poland should be allowed to carry arms (we omit to comment upon the foolishness—in demanding such a thing from capitalist rulers) but over-night an outrageous peace was agreed upon by the "communist" State, who gave in to every demand of capitalistic Poland.

So another prophesy of the new Minor came through . . .

We would wish to conclude our answer to "reason" four again by re-quoting the entire "reason" four, but to save space we ask the reader to just turn to "reason" four, and then ask himself if every assertion in it did not remain as true as ever.

The fifth "reason" is again very interesting:

"That the revolution has stagnated into a State Socialism sadly resembling the bourgeois governments of the world, with which it could now have no legitimate quarel; that foreign capital would accept the offers of concessions and agreements with the Bolshevik government."

Aside from the *old* Minor who proves that "reason" five also still holds good, every one is acquainted with the facts, that, not only are millions in gold being taken from the Russian people by the emissaries of the "communist" State, with which Krassin in England, Martens in United States and others in different countries are begging to make agreements, and offering concessions to capitalist exploiters and investors, but the peace already concluded with those, shows, International capitalism is now hasting to make peace with the "communist" State, in order to save the capitalist system of the world from being crushed by a more revolutionary movement of "anarchy" which as it seems has now come into being.

Now we will proceed to the last and sixth "reason":

"That the Russian State bureaucracy and an army under old-time Tzarist officers, disciplined more thoroughly than any other army ever was, would enforce upon the Russian workers and peasants the agreements made with foreign capital, thus bringing to an end most of what was good in the Russian revolution."

How true indeed this last "reason" of the *old* Minor has remained!

About the only good thing that Minor has done, has been just to give us the six "reasons" of the *old* Minor, which contradict entirely the non-reasons for the "change" of the *new* Minor.

Who does not know that the red army is now being ruined (and as a consequence) is being constantly betrayed by former military officials of the Tzar?

Or, will Minor be so good as to show how the "communist" State will carry out any "agreements made with foreign capital" which they have made and are continuing to make, otherwise than by "enforcing" them "upon the Russian workers and peasants"?!

The facts brought out, show, that not only is the compromising action of the "communist" State leading to the destruction of most of what "was good in the Russian revolution"—but what is worse—it is leading to *the prevention of the most momentous change in the history of the proletariat's struggle for liberation—the bringing about of an International Social Revolution!*

To "change" one's "mind" a little, may sound very "progressive" and even "radical", but Minor has forgotten one thing, that while *one can* "change" one's "mind a little" one *cannot*, no matter how much one will try—change the facts—even just "a little".

When Minor will convince the world, that he *can change facts*—only then—and not before, will he be able to outshine the greatness of Marx and Engels in their plagiarization of the "Communist Manifesto" almost in its entirety, or Marx's plagarization of "Capital", or, Lenin's "skill" (as the old Minor says) in using "a way in which political power was ever won—to say the things that your crowd want to hear, a way at which we may turn up our noses." . . .

If Minor really possesses "honest faculties", then the mass of facts we have brought forth here, ought to make him realize, that, when the true history of the Social Revolution in Russia will be written, the *old* Minor of a year ago will undoubtedly find there an important place, whereas the *new* Minor will most likely not find any other place there, but the one of a degenerate, or as he refers to himself an "apostate".

On the other hand Minor may realize, that, just by reading an Anarchist lecture one cannot very well condemn an ideal. When he does, he may begin making a study of the Anarchist books that we have referred to as also to many other books on Anarchism; for, as

the saying goes "It's never too late to learn"—provided one cares to find out and know the truth.

If Minor really has a sincere desire to find out the truth, he will still get many surprises, and may "change" his "mind a little" once again. . .

Only, to be frank, we doubt if Minor cares at present to know and admit the truth.

The *new* Minor set about making assertions—which we have proved by the writings of the *old* Minor, as well, as by innumerable other facts to be untrue and contradictory.

Now it is Minor's turn to answer if he can, or claim the title, as the *originator* of *changing facts.*

CHAPTER IX.

Why the Italian Revolution failed in 1920

Who betrayed the Revolution in Italy in the Year 1920?

We will in this chapter deal with the recently attempted Revolution (October 1920) in Italy.

The telegram quoted below gives somewhat of a true inkling as to what happened.

"MILAN, Italy, Oct. 17.—The sequel to Thursday's pro-Russian demonstration by the anarchists, which resulted in many casualties, was seen to-day in a great net spread by the Italian government in an energetic attempt to round up the advocates of violence.

In Milan the police searched the premises of the anarchist newspaper Umanita Nuova, edited by the notorious anarchist leader Enrico Malatesta, and arrested four editors and one reporter. Another editor was absent, as was Malatesta, who had gone on a trip to Bologna. Word was flashed there and he was captured. Malatesta's record is perhaps the worst, for in every town in which he has spoken in the last nine months riots and murders have occurred.

"He is said to be responsible for inciting more than twenty riots by his appeals to bloodshed. In these outbreaks more than fifty persons have been killed.

"The police in other raids arrested the anarchists Giulo Spinacci and Bertoni Corrado, the latter the secretary of the Italian Syndicalist Union. They were questioned regarding the two bombs which exploded Thursday in front of the Hotel Gavour and the shooting outbreak on the plazza in front of the cathedral.

"A search of houses also was instituted in many parts of the city and many firearms were found. An anarchist, Soho, who had firearms and bombs in his possession, was arrested.

"At Brescia, bombs were found cancealed in the Labor Exchange. Two anarchists were arrested in connection with the discovery.

"The fact that fewer than 4,000 workers out of the 400,000 employed in the factories of the Milan district were taking part in the anarchist meeting is taken as proof that the movement isn't popular and that a few more determined steps on the part of the government will result in wiping out the disorders.

"In conservative circles considerable indignation has been expressed in the past over the government's failure to act against the anarchists. It is said that the government, because of its composition, fears open conflict with the Socialists; the Socialists are afraid of the Communists, the Communists are afraid of the anarchist apaches."

What followed after the happenings described in the above telegram is to be gathered from the two telegrams which appeared after it.

The first one reads:

"Milan, October 19.—Serati and other Italian communists left for Germany, where they will participate in conference together with the Bolshevik leader of Russia, Zinoviev."

After such "important" action by the spokesmen of the "communist" party, at a time when real fighters for the social revolution were being thrown in the jails, it will not surprise us to read the following telegram telling us what "action" the Italian "communists" took towards the Government's attack upon the Anarchist movement.

It reads:

"Florence, Oct. 21.—The directors of the Socialist party (now the "communist" party) met here today and rejected a proposal for a general strike as a protest against the arrest of Enrico Malatesta, the Anarchist leader."

If these facts are not enough to prove the treachery of the "communists" of Italy, read this openly boastful admission which appeared in the organ of the American "communists", "The Communist" of October 15th, 1920:

"The seizure of factories reached such a stage that all government and industry was paralyzed. The Government and the capitalist knew this would fail so they left their hands off and waited. So did the Communists."

But this organ of "communism" does not stop just at this admission. It has to save its "revolutionary" face and "honesty", so, unmindful of the intelligence of its readers it goes on to make the following assertion:

"The Italian workers, after this betrayal by their syndicalists and reformist leaders, will turn more and more to Soviet Russia for guidance.

"But as we have explained, the syndicalists are opposed to all Governments. They are just as much averse to the worker's government as the capitalist government. Being in a majority at the convention they defeated this plan which was brought in by the Executive Committee of the Italian Socialist Party (soon the Communist Party)."

This statement contains many untruths. The newspapers of October 1920, distinctly wrote that the Syndicalists and Anarchists not only refused to vote on the compromise assented to by the Socialists, but issued manifesto after manifesto urging the workers to continue the revolution in spite of the betrayal of its Socialists and Labor politicians. The telegram quoted at the beginning of this chapter is negation enough.

However, the above two telegrams prove more conclusively the "truth" of the above statement.

It is true, that the Anarchists did not aim in the least at capturing the Government, but, were not the Anarchists attacked and jailed by the Government for refusing to submit to the compromise made by the Socialist and Labor politicians? When the Anarchists continued urging and fighting against the compromise, and for the Social Revolution, and when as a consequence of this action, the Government sent soldiers who killed scores of workers—did not such *direct*

revolutionary action lead to an *open struggle* with the *now unmasked protector of capitalism—the Government?*

So then, *who betrayed* the Social Revolution in Italy—*the* Anarchist movement that was being attacked by the Government for being true to the Social Revolution, or *the* "communists" who were "*abstaining*" and *watching* how the Government was crushing the real fighters for the revolution in Italy?

It is, we think, not out of place to give here a brief summary of the events in Italy during the last year, until now. It will give us a clear view of what happened there.

Last year the "revolutionary" socialists (at present the "communists") of Italy, "promised" when "elected" to Parliament, to declare the Social Revolution from there. When 156 were elected on this promise, most of them turned against an "immediate" Social Revolution, and as Carlo Tresca stated in the *Liberator* of April 1920, they openly became, its most bitter opponents-

The Anarchists were, as ever inspiring the masses and spurring them, to bring about the Revolution.

The Third International, through Lenin's letter of July 1920 "advised" the "communists" of Italy *not to help in any "premature revolution"!*

The Anarchists unceasingly, kept up their revolutionary agitation, until they succeeded in arousing the 400,000 metal workers, to *seize* the factories from which they were locked out. The metal workers' action was followed by similar action on the part of workers in other industries.

Again there entered on the scene the Socialist and Labor politicians, backed by the *inaction* of the "communists", *just* at *the* moment, when the Social Revolution *was* on the verge of becoming an actual reality all over Italy, and *betrayed* it by a compromise agreement with the capitalists's Govenment!

Then and not *before*, the Third International awoke in an attempt to rectify its former "advise" of July 1920, which helped to bring about this betrayal, by calling on their "communists" to "go—ahead with the Revolution"—after it had already been betrayed!

And still the Anarchists *alone* cried out to the proletariat of Italy *—not to submit!*

At a time when the workers and peasants in many parts of Italy, not only refused to submit, but continued the seizure of land and factories, what were the "communists" doing there? *Absolutely nothing*, as the above telegrams prove.

Why are the Anarchists of Italy jailed and suppressed—if not because they have remained true to the Social Revolution?

Oh, yes! The "communists" of the Third International, in Italy as everywhere else are greatly occupied just now, working out plans to capture and "dominate" every economical organization of the workers!

We know already the defence of these "communists". An "Anarchist" revolution as "Avanti" called it—must be boycotted by indifference and in this manner nipped in the bud.

Compare now such action of the "communist" with the "Partisan" Anarchist Fighters of Russia (see appendexed article at the end of this pamphlet)—and then ask yourself—*who* is not "harming your oppressors"? *Who have betrayed the Social Revolution in Italy as in Russia—the "communists" or the Anarchists?*

Let the submitted facts of the following telegram give the answer to this question.

"Milan, October 31.—The *Humanite Nuova* has resumed publication and its current issue contains a special warning which has created real alarm. It alleges that the pressure of railway obstructionism has forced the Government to release thirty-five of the Anarchist leaders arrested at the Bologna congress. The journal says it is determined to exert still further pressure to obtain freedom for its editor Malatesta, and its imprisoned sub-editorial staff, as the restitution of all confiscated registers and correspondence."

This telegram also proves how readily and willingly the workers use revolutionary methods to force from the Government what they wish. It also proves, that, if not for the treachery of the Socialists and the criminal indifference of the "communists"—the Revolution in Italy would now have been an accomplished fact.

Now, after the Revolution has been betrayed and crushed by them —the "communists" are waiting—for the only thing that matters to them,—to capture the State and rule over the people in place of the capitalist State.

CHAPTER X.

Marx, Engels and Lenin on the State and Revolution

We will now concern ourselves chiefly with Lenin's "The State and Revolution". This we do, because, Lenin deals both with Marx and Engels, or, to be more correct—he quotes and requotes from them in order to prove what a true Marxian he is. In it, of course, he also gives his approval of them, and the *new* Minor does also, by saying, that all "the rest" which he has to "say" is "written" in their writings. Failing to show or attempt to prove what is in their writings, we must do it ourselves.

One feels like asking a few questions in reference to Lenin's above named pamphlet.

The first one is in regards to Plekhanoff.

Why did Lenin have to wait twenty years before declaring:

"He (Plekhanoff) managed somehow to treat, this question without touching on the most vital point politically, in the struggle with the Anarchists.

"A clumsy disquisition on the theme "that an Anarchist cannot be distinguished from a bandit", an amusing combination of subjects and most characteristic of the entire activity of Plekhanofl." (p. 106-107).

Can Minor or any other "communist" explain this "amusing combination of subjects" as Lenin alludes to Plekhanoff's "Socialism and Anarchism" which has been considered a "classic" ever since it was written, (translated into almost every language, and recognized by the Socialist movement of the world as a "standard" outline, giving a true explanation of Anarchism to Socialists)—has never been repudiated or criticised by any of the "communists" until a few months before the overthrow of Kerensky, when Lenin in his pamphlet discovered that Plekhanoff had slandered and misrepresented Anarchism?

Is it not also a pity, if not something far worse, that Lenin should have had to wait so many years before declaring in reference to Engel's "withering away of the State" phrase:

"It is not often that we find this passage quoted in the propogandist literature of contemporary Social Democracy" (p. 19.)

That is just the question we want to ask. Why have all the writers of Socialism kept silent about this—for nearly fifty years?

Evidently, none of them have believed in it. . . .

Lenin thus discusses the "communist" and capitalist States:

"The substitution of a proletarian for the capitalist State is impossible without a violent revolution, while the abolition of the proletarian State, that is of all States, is only possible through withering away". (p. 26.)

The capitalist States can only be overthrown by violent revolutions—but the "communist" States will die of themselves peacefully. They will simply "wither" away, almost like leaves in autumn. . .

As for the truth of Lenin's assertion, the suppression of every real revolutionary party in Russia speaks very eloquently and makes quite clear for all, how willingly and assuredly the "communist" States are apt to "wither away"!

Lenin, then proceeds explaining what the State is:

"The State is a particular form of organization of force; it is the organization of violence for the purpose of holding down some class. What is the class which the proletariat must hold down? It can only be, naturally, the exploiting class, i. e., the bourgeoisie" (p. 28).

The first part defining the functions of the State is true. The second is a perversion of the truth, as we will soon show.

When the workers *rise* in a Social Revolution as the workers of Russia did in October 1917 against the State and consequently also against capitalism, i. e., the bourgeoise, they do not (as they did not in Russia) wish to "hold down" any class as Lenin infers, or use any "dictatorship" over any class. The aim *is* and *should* be to *destroy* and *annihilate any form of rulership* by *any class* over *another*, which naturally means that the Revolution must go on until this is achieved, or go down fighting—but by no means can freedom be achieved—with the replacement of the capitalist State by a "communist" one, or by making peace with capitalism!

It is because all Marxian politicians are afraid to tell that they aim at capturing the State and *ruling* the people as the bourgeoise does, that they are hiding themselves under the cloak of a "proletarian State" when as a matter of fact everyone knows and Zinoviev admits (see chapter XII), it is the *rule* of the "communist" State *over* the Proletariat that is being carried out in Russia and aimed at by them in all other countries.

But, the "wise" Lenin betrays the motives of the "communists" in this "infinitly wise" paragraph:

"The proletariat needs the State, the centralized organization of force and violence, both for the purpose of crushing the resistance of the exploiters and for guiding the masses of the population—the peasantry, the lower-middle class, the semi-proletariat—in the work of economic Socialist reconstruction." (p. 30).

How many perversions of the truth have we here?

The "proletariat", Lenin asserts, needs the "centralized organization of force and violence—the State" for "crushing the exploiters".

The falseness of this is most strikingly proved by the Partisan Fighters who are inspired and are combating in *voluntary* coopera-

tion with the Anarchists, defeating every counter revolutionary attempt—whereas the "proletarian" or, to be more correct, the "communist" State must resort to conscription. (See chapter V.)

No! A *Social Revolution* needs no State to *conscript, suppress, murder* and *jail* revolutionists, in order to get its fighters for the annihilation of the exploiters.

In a social revolution the *workers* should have the *factories* and the *peasants* the *land*, and then there would be plenty of volunteers as in all those real *communes* of Southern Russia, where the peasants have the land and the workers the factories.

Another distortion of facts—is contained in the second part of the above paragraph, where Lenin says, that the "proletariat needs the State in order to guide in the work of economic socialist reconstruction".

When the Proletariat and Peasantry of Russia arose in October 1917—what was their aim? Was it to capture the "State" in order to carry out "the work of economic Socialist reconstruction"?

Was it not a revolt against a Socialist "reconstruction" State?!!!

The people did not care any more for the Bolshevist-Socialist "reconstruction" than they did for Kerensky-Socialist "reconstruction"!

What the people wanted and cried for, were, Bread, Land and Freedom!

When Kerensky was overthrown, the workers took possession of the factories and the peasants of the land. (See chapter 3, of the *old* Minor).

The people did not care for, nor did they fight with their lives for any State to replace the Tzaristic or Kerensky forms.

But—and this is where the great dishonesty of Lenin and the Marxists comes in.

The people it is true did not strive for *any* State. Only, they do not realize how "fortunate" or rather *unfortunate* they are in having Marxian Socialists of all shades and names—ever ready to "guide" them. . .

Lenin fails to show when, where or to what purpose the "proletariat" needs the State for "the work of economic Socialist reconstruction".

Though Lenin fails to show this, the close reader will very likely grasp at once not only why he fails to show, but will also understand *as to* who really "needs the State". . It is, *those* who wish to carry out the rules laid down for a revolution in the books of Marx and Engels, *the* "communists", but *not* the Proletariat or the Peasantry that wants the State to continue in existence, in order to carry into life "the work of economic Socialist reconstruction"!

The slogans in October 1917 were not; "All Power to the Communist State", but, "All Power to the Soviets!" and "Bread, Land and Freedom".

Can the reader now realize how untrue is the assertion of the "communists", when they say that the proletariat needs the State for different purposes—when in reality — it is only the Marxians themselves, who need the State to suppress all opponents, and rule *over* the people under the shield of the "dictatorship of the proletariat"?

Lenin shows—the "communist's" real aims still more convincingly when he discusses Federalism. (Voluntary association of individuals, groups, communes and peoples). He says:

"Federalism is a direct fundamental outcome of the Anarchist petty middle-class ideas. Marx is a centralist."

"Only people full of middle-class "superstitious faith" in the State can mistake the destruction of the bourgeoise State for the destruction of centralism." (p. 55).

Here we have the real "communism" of the Third International "communists"

Oh, yes! Now, that the proletariat is able to realize by fifty years of Socialism, Parliamentarian treachery, the uselessness of the State —they, the same Socialists under the guise of "communists" are shouting from the house tops, that they also are against the monstrous institution of oppression—the State—only not just now. . . Sometimes in the future it will of "itself wither away"! . . .

But, here comes Lenin in the same pamphlet, aiming to prove the "withering away of the State" as their goal, and yet boast fully admitting that, Federalism (voluntary association) was never their aim, (which we Anarchists have known for the last fifty years), that their aim is, the most powerful "centralist" State imaginable!

The whole trouble with Lenin is, that the further he proceeds in his pamphlet, the clearer it becomes, that he and the "communists" are *as much* against the State *as* Kautsky or Hilquit. . .

Lenin writes:

"Centralism does not, with Engels, (the reader need not be surprised at finding in Lenin's or any other "communist's" writings, what Marx "says" or what Engels "says" . . . It only proves conclusively, who really believes in "priestcraft" . . .) in the least exclude such wide local autonomy, which combines a voluntary defence of the unity of the State by the communes and districts with the absolute abolition of all bureaucracy and all "ordering about from above." (p. 75).

What innumerable contradictions for such a "great" and "wise" man! "Centralism does not in the least exclude local autonomy", when every intelligent person capable of reading knows that Centralism is the opposite of Local Autonomy! But, you see, (and here

is the great conciliation. . .) the "local autonomy" is only for the "defence of the State". This is all the *local autonomy* that Marxian Socialists can afford to give to the people.

As for Lenin's statement in the concluding part of the above paragraph, we need not refute it as untrue, for everything done by the "communist" State of Russia *proves it* as *untrue.*

As he continues in his arguments, Lenin, most naturally (as all Marxians' are apt to do) gradually forgets all about the "withering away of the State". For, after the last cited paragraph, Lenin gives a lengthy quotation from what "Engels says", about what Marx, Engels and he now aim at.

We quote from Lenin's quotation of Engels:

"And so we want a unitary Republic (writes Engels, setting out the programatic views of Marxism) but not in the sense of the present French Republic, which is neither more nor less than the Europe established in 1798 without the Emperor. From 1792 to 1798 each French department, each municipality, enjoyed complete self-government on the American model, and this is what we too, ought to have." (p. 75).

We, those "fortunate" ones, who for natural reasons of birth or otherwise, have not as yet been deported from America, know, what *"self-government on American model means!* So do our comrades deported from this country know, and we doubt whether besides ourselves, there will be any revolutionary thinking worker in Europe or Central America who will strive even with as much as the raising of a finger to get what we "have" plenty of in this country, and which such a great trinity as Marx, Engels and Lenin state as being good enough for all countries; *"This is what we, too, ought to have"— "self-government on American model means"!* So do our comrades

And these are Minor's real destroyers of the State—not the "conservative Anarchists"! . . .

Zinoviev issues calls to Anarchists to join the Third International He claims some have joined already. Minor says we "must" become "part" of the Third International.

But Lenin slips this out in his pamphlet:

"We do not expect the advent of an order of society in which the principle of the submission of the minority to the majority will not be observed."

Indeed! What common ground is there for a union between Anarchists who strive for real Freedom and "communist" Marxians who Lenin admits strive for a "society" where *the "minority" will be forced in "submission" to the will" of the majority"!*

In face of the above quoted paragraph, Engels' "withering away of the State" phrase sounds very curious if not doubtful,—does it not? . . . .

Lenin waxes wrathful when he deals with Karl Kautsky (aside from the fact that Lenin kept silent about the past views of Kautsky, until 1917).

He bitterly accuses Kautsky of distorting the ideas of Socialism's teacher's—Marx and Engels.

The accusations are based on these paragraphs, which Lenin quotes:

"It is not a question as to the precise form which the administrative apparatus will take in the future State, but as to whether our political struggle destroys the State *before we have conquered it.* What ministry with its officials can be destroyed?

"Under no condition, can it (a proletarian victory over a hostile Government) lead to the destruction of the State. It can only lead to a certain rearrangement of forces *within the State.*"

Lenin, after using some strong epithets against Kautsky exclaims:

"But we shall go forward to a break with these traitors to Socialism."

But nevertheless, Lenin, has, so it seems, forgotten what he wrote a few pages before, but, the reader cannot afford to forget.

And it is upon turning back a few pages of the same pamphlet, we find Lenin fully agreeing with the above-quoted thoughts of Kautsky. He writes:

"The essence of revolution is not that a new class shall govern by means of the old government machinery, but that it shall smash up this machinery and govern by means of a new machine." (p. 118).

Let the reader now re-read what Kautsky writes and compare it with this last quotation of Lenin's and then he will be forced to ask himself: *Where is there any difference* between Kautsky the "traitor" and Lenin the honest—Marxian? . .

We cannot see any difference. Both admit the identical thing. Kautsky contends that the Socialist's "Victory over a capitalistic State" will effect only a *"rearrangement of forces within the State".* Lenin on the other hand says: that the real Marxians (such as he) will "smash up" "the old government machinery" and then *"govern by means of a new machine"!*

If there is any difference between them, it is the greater frankness of Kautsky, who refuses to fool the Proletariat, by calling the capturing of the capitalist State and replacing it with a Socialist one, anything else than what it is—*a change of rulers in name only;* whereas Lenin calls this change "a new machine"!

The admission by Lenin of a *"new machine", which* is to *replace* the capitalist "machine" is very *important.* It *proves* as an *absolute falsehood* that the "communists" *aim even at any such thing,* as the *"withering away of the State",* with which they try to fool the revolutionary proletariat.

Calling it "the proletarian State", "the dictatorship of the Proletariat", will not, nor ever can change the facts as to what is actually being aimed at, and done.

Both Lenin Socialists and Kautsky Socialists aim at (and effect as in Russia and Germany) the capturing of the capitalist State, and then rule the people instead of the "bourgeoise".

Lenin gives us an insight as to what this "new machine" will be. (Only we know what it is already. . .) He writes:

"The specific bossing methods of the State officials can and must begin to be replaced immediately within twenty-four hours—by the simple function of managers and clerks.' (p. 51).

So! Now the "bossing" will be, as it is at present in Russia—a "simple function" by "managers and clerks" . . . Lenin calls them now "commissars'. . . And as every one knows, these "commissars" are not composed of any of the "bourgeoise" . . . And they do not shoot down, imprison, attack or suppress Anarchists as the Tzar used to. . . For, you see—they do it only—as a "simple function"! . . .

Now we fully understand more than ever before, why the *old* Minor was driven to exclaim, that the way in which Lenin and his "communists" captured the reins of the State, and turned the Soviets into a nonentity, was a "*way at which we may turn up our noses*".

Lenin's pamphlet is so filled with contradictions and mis-statements, that we could keep on quoting paragraph by paragraph proving that most of the arguments are based upon false grounds.

But, we think, that we have quoted enough from it, to prove, that although pretending to aim at the "withering away of the State"—Lenin as well as Marxians of all shades and names—all believe in a State, clothing it, however, in the deceitful name of the "Proletarian State."

Their aim is not to help bring about freedom, but to use the "force" of the State as a means of *enforcing upon the people in revolt* the establishment of the "intellectual" rulership, as Marx and Engels have outlined.

Between Marxians and therefore pro-State enslavers of all people of the earth, and the anti-State Anarchists—aiming to help in freeing the people of the earth from every kind of rulership—there never was (since the break of the First International, for this main reason) nor can be any ground for a "reconcilation".

The vituperation on the Social-Democrats by Lenin and his "communists" is only a political trick to fool the proletariat into supporting the "communists"—trying thus to make the proletariat believe, that they, the "communists", are not aiming at exactly the same State rulership as the Social Democrats who have betrayed the Proletariat for the last fifty years in every parliament in the world.

Lenin kept silent about this well-known treachery until a few months before his ascension to power—while the Anarchists were slandered as spies for exposing it.

Is it necessary for us still to deal at length with the claim of Minor on which he lays so much importance—that, Bolshevism is striving towards the "withering away of the State" as "laid" down by

Engels,—after having dealt at such length with Lenin's pamphlet embodying this thought?

A few short remarks will, we think, suffice.

Engels wrote:

"The proletariat takes control of the State authority and, first of all, converts the means of production into State property.

"When ultimately, the State really becomes the representative of the whole of society, it will make itself superfluous.

"The State will not be "abolished"; it will wither away."

(Engels in "Herr Eugen Diihring's Umwälzung der Wissenschaft", p. 302-303, German Edition.)

The lack of logic in Engel's assertions are self-evident.

It might have been necessary to dwell on them, if we had not had before us a "communist" State that *is* carrying on its existence according to this "grand programme".

We have shown in dealing with Lenin's pamphlet the absolute futility of this illogical absurdity, as well as the lack of intention of its ever being carried out (were such a thing possible) by these "communist" Marxians.

We have shown how such a "communist" State as Engels hoped for is suppressing in cold blood Anarchist Communes. We have seen how it is *compromising*, and thereby betraying the Revolution, how it is jailing every true revolutionist and suppressing his papers. We have, with the help of innumerable happenings in Russia, as well as with the *old Minor*'s two articles, *proved* how the initiative of the people is being killed, and replaced by the most autocratic centralized State of the "communist" party.

In face of all these facts, can any intelligent person give the least consideration to those illogical thoughts of Engels' which are now only used by Lenin, Minor and the "communists" as a political trick in order to lure Anarchists and other revolutionists into supporting their State autocracy, and thus help them to ruin the revolution?

Lenin himself contributes one of the strongest proofs of the illogical mind of Engels, when he writes:

"In the Government (Kerensky) a sort of quadrille is going on in order that, on the one hand, as many Social Revolutionaries and Mensheviks as possible may get at the "pie", that is the "cushy" jobs, and on the other hand, the attention of the people may be occupied. All the while the real "State" business is being done in the chancelorries and the departments." (The State and Revolution p. 28).

Could not the identical thing be applied now to the "communist" State?

There still may be some who will give ample reasons for defend-

ing the present course pursued by the "communist" State as a "necessity of the moment", which to them doesn't disprove the claims and intentions of the "communists", that they do aim at the final disappearance of the State.

Fortunately for those seeking the truth, we are enabled not only to show (as we did) the illogic of Engel's assertions, by the actual facts transpiring in Russia, but also to *prove* from Engels' own writings that he *did not mean* what he wrote as regards to "the withering away of the State".

In an article entitled "On the Principles of Authority" written in 1873 Frederick Engels said:

"All Socialists are agreed that the State and with it the political authority will vanish as the result of the future social Revolution; that is to say, that public functions will loose their political character and will be resolved into simple administrative functions supervising the social interests."

Here we have the *open admittance* of Engels himself, that the State which he wrote would "wither away", *will not continue to exist* as a "political" State, but "will be resolved into simple administrative functions". In other words, it will be an *Administrative State instead* of a *political* one! This in reality means, that if the people accept Socialism as the ideal through which they shall succeed in liberating themselves from economic and political slavery, then they will be badly disapointed if not fooled. For the Socialist "intellecuals" will *eternally* choose themselves as the most "capable" ones in making up the personel of the new "*simple administrative*" apparatus, or, as Lenin calls it a "*new machine*".

We are only wondering, how many sincere communists, who are now supporting the Third "Communist" International, thinking it will finally destroy the State, are aware of this *open admission* by Engels?

The "communist" press seem to be willing to quote anything from Engels—that suits them—but this admission.

Their reasons for doing so? Well, the reader will find the *answer* when questioning himself.

The *old* Minor was indeed right when he said a year ago, that, "governmental ownership" of the "communist" State (then known as the Bolshevik State) would "*never fall away*" as Engels wrote it should, and as Lenin claimed that it will:

"Unless by another violent revolution against the most revolutionary-proof Government of the world."

CHAPTER XI.

Bakunin, Kropotkin and Malatesta on the "State and Revolution"

When a Social Revolution breaks out, *two things* are necessary. First, the peasants should take possession of the land and the workers of the factories, and the second, the State should be completely annihilated. These are the circumstances under which a revolution may be expected to be defended voluntarily.

In taking possession of the land and factories the masses no doubt will make mistakes—but they are learning—by the *only way* that can be instructive—by *practicing real Communism.*

So, how will they *learn* it more quickly:

By giving over to the State all the land and factories—or—by actually practicing communism from the first day of the Revolution?

One of the tragedies in the Revolution of Russia today is the Bolsheviks' aim to take the land from the peasants and to place it into the power of the State,—and then also to force the workers who seized the factories in the October Revolution to surrender them to the State. This action accounts for the peasant uprisings and worker's strikes against the "communist" State, as it does also for the conscriptive measures that the Bolsheviks are being forced to adopt in order to defend the Revolution.

Once the peasants and workers realize what a useless monster the State is to them, be it called a Tzaristic or Bolshevistik and they overthrow it—they will then never submit to surrender anything to it.

Here it would be of great historical interest and for the benefit of Minor, to cite, not Lenin as Minor so proudly does in a pamphlet written at the time *of the Revolution in* 1917 (only for to gain power) but one who wrote a far truer and more sensible prediction as early as 1871. We mean here Michael Bakunin. This is what he thought a Revolution ought to be.

"The organization of the commune by the permanent association of the barricades and by its organ, the council of the revolutionary commune, to which every barricade, every street, every quarter, sends one or two responsible and revocable representatives with binding instructions. The council of the commune can appoint executive committees out of its membership for the various branches of the revolutionary administration. (i) The declaration of the capital, insurgent and organized as a commune, that, after the righteous destruction of the State of authority and guardianship, it renounces the right (or

rather the usurpation) of governing the provinces and setting a standard for them. (k) The summons to all provinces, communities, and associations, to follow the example given by the capital, first to organize themselves in revolutionary form, then to send to a specified meeting-place responsible and revocable representatives with binding instructions, and so to constitute the league of the insurgent associations, communities, and provinces, and to organize a revolutionary power capable of defeating the reaction. The sending, not of official commissioners of the revolution with some sort of badges, but of agitators for the revolution, to all the provinces and communities—especially to the peasants, who cannot be revolutionized by scientific principles nor yet by the edicts of any dictatorship, but only by the revolutionary fact itself: that is, by the inevitable effects of the complete cessation of official State activity in all the communities. The abolition of the national State, not only in other senses, but in this, —that all foreign countries, provinces, communities, associations, nay, all individuals who have risen in the name of the same principles, without regard to the present State boundaries, are accepted as part of the new political system and nationalities; and that, on the other hand it shall exclude from membership those provinces, communities, associations, or personages, of the same country, who take the side of the reaction. Thus must the universal revolution, by the very fact of its binding the insurgent countries together for joint defence, march on unchecked over the abolished boundaries and the ruins of the formerly existing State to its triumph." (Ba. "Status" pp. 130-31).

And to these great thoughts may be added those of Peter Kropotkin who wrote:

"On the day when the people have swept away the governments, it will also, without waiting for any directions from above, abolish private property by forcible expropriation." (Kr. "Paroles" pp. 134-5).

"The peasants will drive out the great landlords and declare their estates common property; they will annul the mortgages and will proclaim general release from debt" (same, p. 167) and in the cities "the people will seize on the entire wealth accumulated there, turn out the factory-owners, and undertake the management themselves." (same, p. 135) "The expropriation will be general; nothing but an expropriation of the broadest kind can initiate the re-shaping of society—expropriation on a small scale would appear like ordinary plunder." (same, p. 337) It will extend not only to the materials of production, but also to those of consumption: "The first thing that the people do after the overthrow of the governments will be to provide itself with sanitary dwellings and with sufficient food and clothing." (Kr. "Conquete" p: 63).

"Expropriation will extend just to that which makes it possible for any one to exploit another's labor." (same, p. 56).

"The work of destruction will be followed by a work of re-shaping." (Kr. Paroles" p. 263).

"We will do what is needful ourselves, without waiting for the orders of a government." (same, p. 139) "If the dissolution of the State is once started, if once the oppression-machine begins to give out, free associations will be formed quite automatically. Just remember the voluntary combinations of the armed *bourgeoisie* during the great Revolution. Remember the societies which were voluntarily formed in Spain, and which defended the independence of the country, when the State was shaken to its foundations by Napoleon's armies. As soon as the State no longer compels any co-operation, natural wants bring about a voluntary co-operation quite automatically. If the State be but overthrown, free society will rise up at once on its ruins." (same, pp. 116-17).

"The reorganization of production will not be possible in a few days," (Kr. "Conquete", p. 75) especially as the revolution will presumably not break out in all Europe at a time." (same, p. 85) "The people will consequently have to take temporary measures to assure themselves, first of all, of food, clothing, and shelter. First the populace of the insurgent cities will take possession of the dealers' stocks of food, and distribute printed tabular statements by the million. Henceforth free taking of all that is present in abundance; rations of what has to be measured out, with preference to the sick and the weak; a supply for deficiencies by importation from the country (which will come in plenty if we produce things that the farmer needs and put them at his disposal) and also by the inhabitants of the city entering upon the cultivation of the royal parks and meadows in the vicinity." (same, pp. 76-96) "The people will take possession of the dwelling-houses in like manner. Again volunteers make lists of the available dwellings and distribute them. People come together by streets, quarters, districts, and agree about the allotment of the dwellings. But the evils that will at first still have to be borne are soon to be done away: the artisans of the building trades need only work a few hours a day, and soon the over-spacious dwellings that were on hand will be sensibly altered, and model houses, entirely new, will be built." (same, pp. 104-7) "The same procedure will be followed with regard to clothing. The people take possession of the great clothiers' establishments, and volunteers list the stocks. People take freely what is on hand in abundance, in rations what is limited in quantity. What is lacking is supplied in the shortest of time by the factories with their perfected machines." (Kr. "Conquete", pp. 114-16).

If Minor does not know certain things, and there seem to be many things he is lacking knowledge of, it would do no harm to him and all his like, if we quote from a pamphlet called "Anarchy", written in 189 by Enrico Malatesta. Then let him or any one else deny, if he can, whether Malatesta's predictions in regard to a "revolutionary" government are not materializing today in Russia. The following is from the above mentioned pamphlet.

"Private property abolished, government—which is its defender—must disappear. Should it survive, it would continually tend to reconstruct, under one form or another, a privileged and oppressive class.

"And the abolition of government does not, nor cannot, signify the doing away with human association." (p. 21).

"A government, that is, a number of persons deputed to make the laws, and entitled to use the collective forces of society to make every individual to respect these laws, already constitutes a class privileged and separated from the rest of the community. Such a class, like every elected body, will seek instinctively to enlarge its powers; to place itself above the control of the people; to impose its tendencies, and to make its own interests predominate. Placed in a privileged position, the government always finds itself in antagonism to the masses, of whose force it disposes." (p. 24).

"The governors, accustomed to command, would never wish to mix with the common crowd. If they could not retain the power in their own hands, they would at least secure to themselves privileged positions for the time when they would be out of office. They would use all the means they have in their power to get their own friends elected as their successors, who would in their turn be supported and protected by their predecessors. And thus the government would pass and repass into the same hands, and the *democracy*, that is, the government presumably of the whole people, would end, as it always has done,

in becoming an *oligarchy*, or the government of a few, the government of a class." (p. 24).

"And this all-powerful, oppressive, all-absorbing| oligarchy would have always in its care, that is, at its disposition, every bit of social capital, all public services, from the production and distribution of provisions to the manufacture of matches, from the control of the university to that of the music hall. (p. 25).

"From what we have said, it follows that the existence of a government, even upon the hypothesis that the ideal government of authoritarian socialists were possible, far from producing an increase of productive force, would immensely diminish it; because the government would restrict initiative to the few." (p. 27).

"The government, as a government, adds nothing save the tendency to monopolize for the advantage of certain parties or classes, and to repress all initiative from beyond its own circle." (p. 39).

Does the reader realize now Minor's assertions when he wrote:

"What does it mean that I find a powerful analysis and destructive repudiation of the State from the pen of Engels—and from the pen of Kropotkin and Bakunin, only an unexplained disaproval in which my honest faculties force me to recognize the old metaphysical style of moralizing and anathema?"

Shall we also speak about his "discovery" that Anarchism is more "conservative" than Marxian Socialism?

We are sure that the quotations cited from Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta—leaving out for lack of space the interestingly written material by Stirner, on the same subject, particularly of the Socialist State,—are the best denials of Minor's assertions.

A comparison between the thoughts of Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta quoted in this chapter, and those of Marx, Engels and Lenin, (quoted in the preceding chapter)—together with the facts gathered in this pamphlet so far—speak loudly indeed as to whose thoughts and ideals, tactics and methods, are *voluntarily* and *spontaneously* carried out and whose ideas and tactics *have to be forced upon the proletariat* at the point of the bayonet, and starvation.

CHAPTER XII.

"The Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

In order to capture the State the "communists" were hiding themselves under the people's cry of "All Power to the Soviets". Since their aim to capture the State has been achieved they have forgotten all about the Soviets, and have since coined a new phrase by means of which they defend the existence of their "communist" State. It is "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat"—of which the *new* Minor now approves.

Aside from the fact, as we have shown in chapter V., that a people who have risen in a Social Revolution have no need or use for any form of Government—let us see whether in reality there is such a thing as "The Dictatorship of the Proletariat" in Russia. Can there be such a thing at all? Or is it only a *cloak* under which Marxian-Socialists hide their *rulership* as a State *over* the people?

"Dictatorship" means *ruling.* Do the workers and peasants aim at *ruling* capitalism or at *destroying* it with all its supporting institutions?

If its aims are as they should be, to *destroy, not rule*—then who needs this "dictatorship" (in the form of a State) if not that party and those people who constitute the State?

The facts transpiring from Russia clearly show that it is not a "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" that we have there, but a "Dictatorship" of the "communist" party (calling itself the "Proletarian State") which rules *over and against the proletariat.*

Robert Minor of a *year ago,* Peter Kropotkin and many others assert the same, that, it is not a "dictatorship of the Proletariat" but of the "communist" party in Government control.

If some still are in doubt about this, we will prove it more conclusively by quoting from an article of Zinoviev's on "The Communist Party and Industrial Unionism", issued by the "communist" Third International. He writes:

"The aim of the communist party is to obtain a preponderating influence and complete control of all the workers' organizations the industrial unions, the co-operatives, the rural communes and so on."

By far the strongest proof of how the "communist" Third International aims at the final destruction of the State, which has so impressed Minor, can be had from this quotation of the same article of Zinoviev:

"The communist party strives especially to introduce its program into the actual organizations of State—the soviets, and to obtain complete control there."

So, "The king is dead! Long live the king!"

Until now it was called the capitalist State. Now it is called the "Soviet" State—over which the "communist party" has the "preponderating influence and complete control"!

This, then is what they mean by the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat", and this is how they aim to see to it, that the State should "wither away"!

Zinoviev's assertions prove how earnest Lenin and his "communists" are when they assert that they "also like the Anarchists," are for the destruction of the State!

Kropotkin well expressed the result of such a dictatorship, when he stated in his message to the "Workers of Western Europe and America":

"But so long as a country is governed by the dictatorship of a party the Labor and Peasant Councils evidently lose all their significance. They are reduced to the passive role played in times past by "General States" and Parliaments when they were convoked by the king and had to oppose an all-powerful king's council.

"The immense constructive work that is required from a Social Revolution cannot be accomplished by a central Government, even if it had to guide in its work something more substantial than a few Socialist and Anarchist booklets. It requires the knowledge, the brains, and the willing colloboration of a mass of local specialized forces, which alone can cope with the diversity of economical problems in their local aspects. To sweep away that collaboration and to trust to the genius of party dictators is to destroy all the independent nuclei, such as Trade Unions (called in Russia "Professional Unions") and the local distributive co-operative organizations—turning them into bureaucratic organs of the party, as is being done now. But this is the way *not* to accomplish the Revolution; the way to render its realization impossible."

If the "communist" Third International cared to be frank, and did not aim at fooling or misleading the workers, it would openly admit that what it aims at is not the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" but that of *the "Communist"* party *over* the Proletariat.

A phrase may sound very convincing until its true meaning is discovered.

The thinking proletariat is finding out what this decoying phrase of the "dictatorship of the Protetariat" means in reality.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Cry for "Peace" with Capitalism

The cry of peace with Russia, raised by the "communists" everywhere is both dangerous and harmful.

There is no doubt, that, a peace between the "communist" State and capitalistic countries will somewhat relieve the suffering of the people in Russia.

It will, though, also relieve the threatening danger of capitalism's downfall in every part of the globe.

Russia in the throes of a Social Revolution could and should have been the *uncompromising giant* of *revolt*, challenging capitalism's right to exist at all.

If the people of Russia will not arise and assert themselves as we think they ought to, in defiance of the "communists" or any other State's opposition, then, the Social Revolution in Russia is doomed to death, and with it, the Social Revolution in all other countries.

"Communists", Socialists, Capitalists, Republicans, Reformers, Liberals and Radicals are all crying out now to "save civilization from ruin"—(which means in reality, capitalism and its "civilization") by making peace with Russia.

If they succeed, capitalism with its "civilization" will remain *intact.* It will be saved for many generations to come.

Should this happen, the real blame for it, will fall upon the heads of those Marxian—"communists" who are at present at the helm of the "communist" State, which acts in such a manner, that it leads to this directly and indirectly.

The Social Revolution could have been in full swing by now, if not for the "communist" State trying to save its rulership at the expense of bartering away the Russian and World Revolution to capitalism, for the mere chance of being enabled to carry out some Marxian-Engels State building devices, or as Lenin calls it—"Socialist reconstruction".

To prove our assertion more strongly, that the course pursued by the "communist" State in its peace making with capitalism of the world, is leading to the downfall of the Russian revolution, and its prevention in other countries, we will quote this document which the New York *Nation* printed in its issue of November 10th, 1920. In

printing the text of "British Trade with Soviet Russia" the *Nation* States:

"The text following is of the draft trade agreement between Great Britain and Soviet Russia. The agreement was made public on October 4, and has not yet been ratified by the British Government."

And we will cite this most significant paragraph which speaks for itself:

"The Russian Soviet Government (no more "soviet power" as Lenin called it when dealing with Anarchists . . .) hereby declares that it recognizes its liability to pay compensation to British subjects in respect to goods or services rendered to it *or the former Government of Russia or to Russian citizens, for which payment has not been made owing to the Russian Revolution.*"

We wonder what the "honest faculties" of Minor will say in defence of this open declaration by the "communist" State—*that it is not only willing to pay all the Tzar's obligations to British capitalists, but also to the Russian ones* who are "supposed" to have been destroyed by now!!!

Capitalism knows, as we said before, that a really uncompromising Social Revolution in Russia which would replace the present "communist" State, would mean the expansion of the Social Revolution into all other countries and—this would most naturally lead to its destruction.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Social World Revolution -- How Can It BeAchieved?

If the Bolsheviks of Russia really had the freeing of the masses at heart, they would have helped the peasants and workers to seize all the land and factories. They would have introduced the practice of real Communism, helped in organizing Free Fighters like Makhno —and would not have ruined the Russian Revolution by attempting to make it conform with the rules laid down by Marx or Engels! If they had done this—then we are sure that the Anarchist-Communists, Individualists or Syndicalists—would all have joined hands with them, for the realization of freedom.

Minor says:

"And it is likely that the kind of mistakes we have made is some kind that leaked in on us from the surrounding welter of commerce, politics and priestcraft."

We acknowledge that everyone of us living human beings can make mistakes, but we ask; does Minor bring any proof to the effect that Anarchists have anywhere made such mistakes as were due to the "surrounding welter of commerce, politics and priestcraft"?!

The facts in this pamphlet prove who have made such mistakes. When Minor asserts:

"We of both factions are the debris of the first International", he is falsifying once more.

The Bolsheviks have proved and are proving by their actions in Russia that they aim only at *ruling over the masses*—not helping them in their struggle for liberation. They are thus betraying the Social Revolution. The Anarchists are proving by their action that they are doing just the reverse. Therefore *no union* but *war* is possible between them both.

There is a great need for an International of all the thinking proletariat aiming for an International Revolution, and at bringing into realization real Communism. Such an International we Anarchists would gladly join, and cooperate with as soon as it would come into being. For such an International our Italian comrades are directly working in spite of the Socialist and Communist opposition and treachery. For such an International, every Anarchist works directly and indirectly—by the constantly uncompromising stand he takes on every question that bears on *slavery* and *freedom*, by his

continued revolutionary propaganda in every economic organization of the workers, as well as among unorganized workers.

We are not dogmatic followers. We have not laid down rules—that *so* and *not otherwise* must we *carry out* a Revolution.

We hold that the workers wherever enslaved—must not wait for the development of capitalism as Marx says they must, but on the contrary, (as the Russian Revolution has proved) they may be ready, without capitalism and should strive to liberate themselves—not by compromising actions, but, by the *direct seizure of the land and factories* at any opportune moment. When they have done this in one country,—they must *refuse* to *recognize* any *right* of *capitalism* or of *capitalistic governments* of *other* countries.—By *such action* they will *force* International Capitalism to declare war upon *the* country in *Revolution.* But what would be the result? International capitalism, it is true, might declare war, but could not—nor would it—fight. They would have to call upon, or attempt to force, the workers in their countries to essay to destroy the country where the workers have risen in a Revolution.

What would this lead to? We have already spoken of the action of solidarity shown by the workers the world over, especially by those of Great Britain, in defence of the Social Revolution in Russia.

Are we then wrong in asserting, that such *uncompromising action* by the workers of a country in Revolution would directly lead to the expansion of the World Revolution into every other country—and thereby make safe not only the Freedom gained in that country —but also *make it possible* for *the proletariat of every county on earth?*

Direct seizure of the land and factories by the masses, means the doing away of any forceful conscription, like that which the "communist" State has, and is using. The masses would then be ever ready to voluntarily defend the Revolution to the last drop of their blood from all enemies who aim to crush it.

The defense which Makhno and his Partisan Fighters have been putting up for the Revolution also proves the vain and false assumption of Bolshevist-Marxism that the Proletariat must have a "Dictotorship" to fight the enemies. *Dictatorship* means ruling, and consequently only a few can rule over a majority. Besides, the true Revolution should not strive to *rule,*—but to *annihilate rulership of every kind.*

Let the masses have the *land* and *factories*—not the "Communist" State as in Russia, and *the masses will save the Revolution*—and not ruin it gradually as the "communist" State is doing.

We hold that the initiative of the people who have revolted, is of the foremost importance to the success of a revolution, and to its

expansion everywhere else. Initiative brings the greatest unforseen developments, and it also teaches men to learn by practice to guide their lives for the welfare of themselves as well as all others.

On the other hand, a "revolutionary dictatorship" kills initiative, thereby preventing development, and only helps to build up a *party oligarchy* in the name of the "people".

The spirit of the First International *is awaking.* It *is* asserting itself. This it is doing in spite of the fifty years of treachery to the Proletariat's cause, by the Second Socialist International, and three years of compromising by the new Socialist "communist" Third International.

The new International, the real International of the Proletariat, as the First one essayed to become,—is in the making right now.

The inevitable overthrow of the "communist" State in Russia by the *revolutionary masses,* who are awaking to anarchy and can see now the treachery of the "communist" State in making peace with capitalism, while suppressing the real revolutionists, is bound to come soon.

The recent action taken by the Trade Union Movement in France when it declared its solidarity with the Revolution in Russia, as also with the Uprisings in Italy, at the same time denouncing the "communist" Third International and approving the *immediate direct action on the economical field* for the purpose of *overthrowing capitalism;* (as we have already mentioned).

The revolutionary, spontaneous uprisings of the Italian workers were prevented from becoming a Social Revolution not only by the Socialist conservatives, but also by the revolutionary "communists" (see chapter IX).

The refusal of the Council of Action in England to allow itself to be dominated by the "communist" party, aiming there as everywhere else to duplicate the dictatorship of the State *over* the proletariat as it is done by the "communists", in Russia;—all this shows that the Real International that is to bring Equality, Fraternity and Freedom to every living human being *is now in the making.*

The *destruction* of *capitalism* and its *States* in every part of the world, is the aim of the New International.

For this International we Anarchists have worked and always will work—until the idea, tactic and spirit of this International is victorious over every enemy of Real Freedom, be he Capitalist, Socialist or "Communist".

We are for the use of any means, methods and weapons at all times by individuals, or parts of the masses—for the avowed purpose of overthrowing capitalism and the State,—*but never in helping to replace a New State in place of the Old.*

As for the future society to be built, again we do not lay down any "rules". We can only do our share in striving, agitating and fighting for the utmost freedom ,equality and happiness as the soundest basis of a Free Society—United Voluntarily into an International Federation of the Proletariat of the World.

To attain this goal, is necessary, not a "party" International of New State Enslavers—but an International of the Entire Proletariat striving against any form of State or Capitalist Slavery and for Real Freedom.

And such an International,—which will help in bringing about the *Social World Revolution* as we have shown—is now being born.

Finis

Appendix

What We Went Through

Preparing to share with comrades what we have been going through in Russia for the last three years, since July 1917 to January 1920, we entitled our article: "What We Went Through", endeavouring as much as possible to transmit only what was personally experienced and personally seen. In no way do we pretend to being "authorities", as many newcomers are bold enough to dub themselves.

Upon arriving here we were struck by the "death of criticism, death of thought". Radicals, Socialists and many Anarchists were shouting in unison at the top of their voices: "Don't speak! Don't write! Don't criticise! It is not time!"

The mercenary capitalistic press on one side was basely slandering, and vilifying everyone and everything. On the other hand our "free thinkers" in an endeavor to clean up the mud heaped upon them by the capitalistic press were striving so hard to scour, plaster and cleanse everything, that it became utterly impossible for any worker living there to steer clear of this obscurity; and though longing to know the truth,—the worker knew nothing *of it*. What is the explanation before a liberal critic of such dismay on the part of our "free thinkers"? Is it possible the same as that, to which every party's official is guided in his terror at discovering a glimmer of this discernment on the part of the workers who throw aside all that has been prepared for them by these *same* party-officials?

Up to this time the press reports mentioned to the public about Bolsheviks on one side, and counter-revolutionists on the other; but nobody ever spoke or wrote about the part the Anarchists played in the Russian Revolution,—and if ever anything was written, everybody, (the former as well as the latter) united in their efforts to besmirch the participation of Anarchists in the Russian Revolution. Some of the conspicuous workers in the American Libertarian Movement, upon returning from Russia, intended to expose to the public the naked truth; but even these few were influenced and kept silent, and whoever dared to come out with the criticism, or with the facts was proclaimed to be a counter-revolutionist. This is the reason why many of them feared to expose the truth.

As early as during the time of Kerensky's Government, when Bolshevist propaganda was *only beginning* to be felt in Petrograd, the Anarchists conducted a desperate struggle against the war. In Vladivostok, in the month of June, two regiments of regulars and the whole fleet under the influence of Anarchists refused to go out to the front. It was the same in Iomok and Irkutsk. In Petrograd Sima Asnin expropriated at that time the Durnovo's country-place which was the first seizure of private property.

A protest-demonstration of Anarchists against the government of Kerensky was headed in Petrograd by a former American Anarchist Iarchuk. The Kronstadt fortress, under the influence of Anarchist propaganda, refused to help Kerensky.

In October before the Revolution, Anarchists, Bolsheviks and Left Social-Revolutionists united in the common cause against the government of Kerensky.

In the days of Kornilov's counter-revolutionary adventure, Anarchists first of all organized in all the towns of Ukraine the "Red Guards" (do not confuse it with the "Red Army), and drew the army into this guard, in order to bar the way of General Kornilov's bands, that were approaching Petograd.

Thus in Odessa, when there were in the staff our comrades: S. Feldman, Krasny and Rozan and all our American comrades, there were more than 2500 workers, besides soldiers in their ranks.

The mottoes used in the struggle against world capital were also borne by Anarchists. Some of them read: "Down with the War"! "Death to Capital!" "All Power to Local Soviets!" "Factories and workshops to the workers!" "Land to the toiling peasantry!"

Then began the adventure of provocateurs of the Ukranian people. S. Petlura and Vinichenko, for "Independent Ukraine". On the streets of Odessa the Anarchists put out the strongest fighting detachments. In Kiev, first to fall in the clash, were our Anarchist comrades Vasiliev, who had just returned from the galleys and many others. The "Rada" knew *well*, that before everything, it was necessary to destroy the Anarchist clubs, and then only to commence the overtures against Bolsheviks. In Kharkov. Ekatherinoslav. Elizabethgrad, Nicolayev—everywhere the Anarchist's battle detachments went out in organized strength against the "Petluras" (Petlurovschina).

When they were retreating before the strength of the German army, the Bolsheviks together with the Anarchists called the peasants to partisan war against the Germans. At their head was comrade Makhno—a galleys-convict and former village teacher. In their united strength they quickly checked the progress of the German Army to Ekatherinoslav.

At the time when the Anarchists were perishing on all fronts, that were created by World-Capital against the Russian Revolution, "their majesties" Lenin, Trotzky and former Anarchist Peters (present chief of all-Russian "extraordinary committee" (Chrezvy chaika) organized "pogroms" on Anarchist clubs and shot down Anarchists in Moscow on the 12th of April 1918, with the same methods, and the same excuses that are used to justify the massacres under capitalistic governments. With difficulty could many of the comrades be restrained from declaring their horror of the Bolshevist Government.

However, the Russian Revolution was in danger, surrounded on all sides by enemies, and the Anarchists took it into consideration. Later on Trosky came out in "Pravda" with apologies, stating that he only wished to cleanse the ranks of the Anarchists of unanarchistic elements; to which the Anarchists replied that they were able themselves to "purge" the ranks and always did it and that "his majesty" Trotzky had better do the cleansing of his ranks where, as Lenin expressed himself, "to every Bolshevik there are ninety-nine scoundrels".

After this wholesale massacre all Anarchists resigned the positions they had occupied. Only Shatov remained on his post of Police Chief at Petrograd, which led to his expulsion from the group of "Golos Truda". From this incident begins the split amongst the Anarchists; some being for the continuation of the struggle jointly with the Bolsheviks, and others—for joint work with them on the front only, though continuing Anarchistic propaganda, criticising Bolshevist power and dictatorship. The latter group with comrade Volin at the head, united to form the Anarchist Federation "Nabat".

The dictatorship of the proletariat proclaimed by the government, in reality proved to be the dictatorship of only one Bolshevist Party, the party in power.

The Social-Revolutionists, unable to bear the fraternization of the Bolsheviks with the capitalistic envoy of Germany, Mirbach, killed him as protest against Bolshevik policy regarding capital. The Bolsheviks then replied to this terrorism against capital by terrorism against those having other ideals. Thousands of Social-Revolutionists fell under the reign of terror proclaimed by the Bolsheviks. Conspicuous indeed is the case of M. Spiridonova whom they thought unsafe to shoot and whom they declared mentally deranged and imprisoned for a year in a psychiatrical hospital. . . As a consequence of this terror the Social-Revolutionists had a schism too. The Left Socialists-Revolutionists supporting the principles, "All Power to local Soviets" and not—"Power to the Party", remained to work with the Bolsheviks on the front only, conducting propaganda for the transfer of Power to the Soviets.

The Right Social-Revolutionists fraternized with Universal Capitalistic Counter-Revolution, and among them were "Grandma" Breshkovskaya, Tchaikovsky, Burtzev and many others.

In Ukraine during a Bacchanalia of Hetmans, thousands of peasants were shot to death. Anarchists didn't leave their posts. With partisan detachments they continued the struggle, organizing the terror against all the "White officialship". Makhno barred the way to retreating Germans appealing to peasants not to let the Germans out till they were disarmed. This was done, and the peasantry, armed with the Germans' arms, drove away the "Hetmans".

The access to Ukraine was free for Bolsheviks! Makhno returned to Iusovka to bar the way to the bands of Denikin. The new Roumanian front was formed—and on this front the Anarchists of Ukraine put out their numerous detachments that mainly participated in arousing the Bessarabien peasantry against Roumania. In the Bessarabian Revolutionary Committee there are seven Anarchists among the members, some of them American comrades. The Roumanians were repulsed. The Allies: English, French, Italian, American and Greek were approaching Odessa .

The Odessa Soviet sent two Anarchist comrades Krasney and S. Feldman to parley with the Admiral. They were former Americans and both were murdered later in the counter-revolution. They succeded in rousing an insurrection on a French battleship. Some officers were thrown into the sea, and the sailors with Captain Sadoul at the head went to the shore raising the red banner, after which began the bombardment of the Black Sea coast. The Allies occupied Odessa, Nikoliev and Kherson.

The Anarchists then issued an appeal to the allied sailors in their own languages. The peasantry began repulsing the allied bands to the Black Sea. At this time the Bolshevist Government continued its persecution of the Anarchists. Comrade Volin was obliged to hide himself. The Anarchists were outlaws, the distribution of "Nabat" was threatened by shooting to death, lectures were dispersed, and the clubs were committed to devastation. The Anarchists had not replied as yet to this terrorism, considering only the danger at that moment to the Revolution. Denikine began to advance. Makhno had no arms to stop this advance and appealed to the Bolsheviks for help. This was answered by the War Commissar L. Trotsky, who demanded, that the Partisan Fighters should immediately be converted into a disciplined army, and handed over under the control of the political commissars of the Bolshevist Government.

Partisans with Makhno at the head replied to that in "Nabat" that they did not acknowledge any Power, that they recognized no

army, and that they admitted only a universal partisan front against Capital, but owing to the dangerous moment they were ready to acceed to those demands. However, the ammunition was not sent, and Makhno had no retreat.

Denikin came out to Ukraina; then the Bolsheviks declared Makhno an agent-provocateur, because he did not hold the front while the Bolshevist army had been retreating and retreating back to Orel!

The whole Capitalistic World was preparing to celebrate its victory over the Russian Revolution. At that time Makhno succeeded to kill the notorious bandit Grigoryev. General Mamontov was already in Great Russia, the town of Orel was bombarded and the bourgeois class was applauding.

At that moment, so perilous for the Russian Revolution, Makhno with his partisans at the rear of the "White Terror", appeared at the railroad junction of Sinelnikovo and cut the rail road line that carried provision and reinforcements to the Whites. The best divisions were sent from Crimea against Makhno. Denikin appointed General Mamontov himself *at the head of them.* But Makhno could not be caught. Today at Melitopol, tomorrow at Alexandrovsk, next at Ekatherinoslav—wherever he was least expected, he carried along death to the "white devils". The English staff admitted that it was much harder to struggle with the Russian Partisans then with the organized army; the partisans could not be caught and easily dodged all persecutions. Again the Anarchists helped the Bolsheviks in their march to Ukraine. The existence of Great Russia is not feasible without Ukraine; Ukraine is the nourisher. At the time when Makhno helped the Bolsheviks to repulse the white bands and Allied forces to the Black Sea, we went away. Later on the Capitalists created a new front by bribing the Polish Government. The first victorious steps of Poland were met by Capital with triumph, but now everything is mournful in their ranks.

The Revolutionary Russian people will destroy every enemy, striving to snatch their freedom from them. At the present moment the Bolsheviks are wielding power. The Capitalistic press has taken a different tone: it begins to write that peace with the Bolsheviks is necessary, that the devil is not so black as he is painted, that Capital can exist side-by-side with Bolshevism—that Bolsheviks even give concessions to Capital. We can already see the Bolshevist Diplomats besieging the houses of Capitalists and their Governments.

Simultaniously the papers brought us the news that Anarchists were again being arrested in Moscow; the American officers who have just returned from Siberia tell us how during six months from January 12th to May 24th, Anarchist detachments defended the town of

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

The Right Social-Revolutionists fraternized with Universal Capitalistic Counter-Revolution, and among them were "Grandma" Breshkovskaya, Tchaikovsky, Burtzev and many others.

In Ukraine during a Bacchanalia of Hetmans, thousands of peasants were shot to death. Anarchists didn't leave their posts. With partisan detachments they continued the struggle, organizing the terror against all the "White officialship". Makhno barred the way to retreating Germans appealing to peasants not to let the Germans out till they were disarmed. This was done, and the peasantry, armed with the Germans' arms, drove away the "Hetmans".

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Nikolaievsk from the Japanese. Now they are surrounded, and the faith of these fighters is unknown. The victorious Bolsheviks will enter the town, and here as everywhere they will destroy the Anarchist clubs, and arrest Anachists for propagating their ideas. Here too, many Anarchists will be lured by the strength of the Bolsheviks, without discerning, questioning or delving for the truth. It is time, yes time, to come back to your ideals, knowing, that the Bolsheviks before all are State-Authoritarians, and with such as they our ways part.

Yours fraternally,

M. and M.

NSH H 22430

Books on Anarchism

God and The State—By Michael Bakunin. ***
Land and Liberty—By Ricardo Flores Magon, A. De P. Araujo and Wm. C. Owen. **
Anarchy—By Enrico Malatesta. **
A Talk Between Two Workers—By Enrico Malatesta. **
Anarchist-Communist—By Manifesto—Movominsky. **
Anarchy versus Socialism—By Wm. C. Owen. **
What Is Property?—By P. J. Proudhon. ***
Evolution and Revolution—By Elise Reclus. ***
The Ego and His Own—By Max Stirner. *
Liberty and Liberterians—By Charles T. Sprading. *
Pages of Socialist History—By W. Tcherkesoff. ***
The Concentration of Capital—By W. Tcherkesoff. **
Anarchism and Democracy—By John Wakeman. **
Morebund Society—By Jean Grave. ***
The Future Society—By Jean Grave. ***

All the above listed pamphlets and books are to be had in very few book stores or libraries of this country. Most of them, though, can be had by making such requests of the Freedom Press, 127 Ossulston Street, London N. W. 1., England.

* Book.
** Pamphlet.
*** Pamphlet or Book form.

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TITLE